NATIONAL REVIEW

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February 22, 1956

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION

A Judgment on the Hughes Trial

AN EDITORIAL

I Acknowledge My Mistakes

MAX EASTMAN

Shadow on Formosa

JOHN C. CALDWELL

Articles and Reviews by · · · C. DICKERMAN WILLIAMS
FRANK S. MEYER · WM. F. BUCKLEY, JR. · ROGER BECKET
L. BRENT BOZELL · REVILO OLIVER · WILLMOORE KENDALL

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from WASHINGTON *straight*

A NEWSLETTER

SAM M. JONES

Case Dropped

According to information from the Department of Justice, Paul H. Hughes, fabricator of McCarthy smears, pander to the none too fastidious tastes of Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., and the editors of the Washington Post, won't be re-indicted.

The Bosses Consider Ave.

The heads of the AFL-CIO are now meeting in Miami. According to Fred Perkins, veteran Labor reporter of the Scripps-Howard papers, the "old boys" (AFL) are teaching the newcomers (CIO) how to relax and enjoy it. Beneath the gayety and free-loading, there is some serious business. Dave Beck is not the least of those who will make the decision on who will be the Democratic Presidential nominee. Things could change, but if you can get odds, Harriman is a good bet.

Wanted: a Conservative

Florida, with a brand new primary election law (said to be the best in the nation), is about to hold an unpopularity contest. The question before the state (on May 29) is whether the citizens would rather not have Mr. Stevenson as the Democratic Presidential nominee more than they would rather not have Mr. Kefauver. Floridians want no part of either. NATIONAL REVIEW is informed on competent authority that a Conservative Democrat could take the primary and the state's delegation hands down. Senator Stuart Symington of Missouri was suggested as the happy compromise. We checked the Senator's intentions, and the answer was "No." So the winner probably will be Mr. Kefauver, who is slightly less unpopular with Florida Democrats than Mr. Stevenson.

Man Wanted

Senator Knowland has been invited to enter the Florida Republican Presidential primaries. If he does, no opposition is likely to beat Mr. Knowland.

Attention Arizona

Columnist Drew Pearson in one of his delightful exclusives reported that Senators Hayden and Goldwater of Arizona had made a deal. Democrat Carl Hayden, who is an institution in Arizona and couldn't be licked by a carload of Republicans, is reputed to have agreed not to oppose Senator Goldwater two years from now, if Goldwater (and the GOP) will not oppose his own reelection bid. The Republicans in Arizona haven't anyone to run against Mr. Hayden, and the probability is that he will be unopposed. Mr. Goldwater, on the other hand, will probably have trouble in 1958 if Ernest McFarland is still around. The former majority leader would like his revanche. Goldwater won't be easy to beat, but that's the score.

Too Little and Too Late?

One of the ablest political publicists of our time summarizes the "Stop Stevenson" movement in this way: "Who is more acceptable? If necessary we could cut Kefauver's throat on the floor of the Convention, as we did in '52. Is Harriman a better sacrifice?"

And Then?

South Carolina will send a delegation to the Democratic Convention with instructions to report back to the state. If there is going to be a revolt in the South, South Carolina and its leaders will head it. Senator Thurmond and Governor Byrnes are the spearhead of the anti-New Deal movement in Dixie.

Or Else

Here's the Benson story. It should be made unmistakably clear by the White House that insistence by the Congress on a return to 90 per cent of parity is asking for a veto. The President can put it on the line and let those Democrats and Republicans who look for trouble, find it. He could give two very good reasons: 1. The Soil Bank plan is supposed to provide farmers compensation for taking land out of production, and is expected to protect their income more than storing under loan at a percentage of parity. Thus, no farmer should expect to be compensated twice for the same action. 2. It can be demonstrated that a return to 90 per cent would only add further to our overhanging surpluses with their depressing influence on prices. This would hurt farmers rather than help them.

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EDITOR and PUBLISHER: Wm. F. Buckley, Jr.

EDITORS

James Burnham Willmoore Kendall
Suzanne La Follette
Jonathan Mitchell William S. Schlamm

PRODUCTION EDITOR: Mabel Wood

ASST. PRODUCTION EDITOR: Adrienne Suddard

WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT: Sam M. Jones

ASSOCIATES and CONTRIBUTORS

L. Brent Bozell, Frank Chodorov, John Abbot Clark, Forrest Davis, Max Eastman, Medford Evans, Karl Hess, Frank S. Meyer, Gerhart Niemeyer, E. Merrill Root, Morrie Ryskind, Freda Utley, Richard M. Weaver

FOREIGN CONTRIBUTORS

London: F. A. Voigt *Paris*: Eudocio Ravines
Geneva: Wilhelm Roepke *Madrid*: J. Dervin
Taipei: John C. Caldwell
Vienna: Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn

BUSINESS MANAGER: Arthur W. D. Harris

ADVERTISING MANAGER: Theodore A. Driscoll

CONTENTS

FEBRUARY 22, 1956 VOL. I, NO. 14

THE WEEK 3

ARTICLES

I Acknowledge My Mistakes ..... Max Eastman 11
Shadow on Formosa ..... John C. Caldwell 15
Nehru and Democracy 21

DEPARTMENTS

From Washington Straight ..... Sam M. Jones 2
The Liberal Line ..... Willmoore Kendall 10
The Resistance 14
National Trends ..... L. Brent Bozell 17
The Third World War ..... James Burnham 18
The Law of the Land ..... C. Dickerman Williams 19
On the Left ..... C.B.R. 22
The Ivory Tower ..... Wm. F. Buckley, Jr. 23
Arts and Manners ..... William S. Schlamm 24
To the Editor 30

BOOKS IN REVIEW

Simulacrum of Freud ..... Frank S. Meyer 25
Dry Well ..... Freda Utley 26
Happy Ending, Barely Credible ..... Alix du Poy 26
Timely Warning ..... J.B. 27
Sorrier Still ..... Revilo Oliver 28
Who's Crazy? ..... Roger Becket 28

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Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-0941

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The WEEK

We learn from the *Daily Worker* that Mr. Corliss Lamont, addressing an audience at Yale, dismissed John Foster Dulles as one of the worst Secretaries of State this country ever had; enthusiastically proposed either Mr. Walter Lippmann or Mr. Harold Stassen as a Secretary of State after his own heart; and offered as the program of the Lamont-Lippmann coalition the signing of a Friendship Pact with the Soviet Union and the immediate admission of Red China to the UN.

Those Americans who have no vested interest in spending tax-money, and wouldn't mind having to provide less of it, should be deeply interested in the following excerpt from the *Bulletin from the European Community for Coal and Steel*, No. 13, February 1956:

> For Western Europe, 1955 was a year of unmatched economic expansion—a steady and remarkable advance to new record levels of output. The index of industrial production in the six Community countries for the first nine months of the year stood at 151 (1950 = 100), compared with 135 for the corresponding period of 1954. For the year as a whole, it is estimated that the production increase over 1954 will be 13 per cent, against 11 per cent in the United States and 6.5 per cent in Britain. The recovery which started in the second quarter of 1954, stimulated by a revival of activity in building and in machinery and automobile manufacture, continued under the same expansionary forces, bringing a higher standard of living than the continent has ever known before.

Speaking of Attorney General Brownell's 1953 charge that President Truman had knowingly promoted a Soviet agent (Harry Dexter White), Mr. W. H. Lawrence says in the *New York Times*: "Mr. Truman replied that at the same time he was seeking proof of allegations made against White, and that the [FBI] did not turn up sufficient evidence to warrant an indictment. . . ." Turning to the files of Mr. White's own newspaper, we find that Mr. Truman a) said he knew nothing about such an FBI report; b) said that "as soon as we found White was disloyal we fired him"; c) said that, knowing White's loyalty was questionable, he permitted him to be promoted to the International Monetary Fund in order not to alert persons involved with him and under FBI investigation. Maybe a few hours in the Times morgue might help Mr. Lawrence's creeping amnesia.

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TV viewers who enjoyed Joseph N. Welch, lachrymose Army counsel during the Army-McCarthy hearings two years ago, will be glad to know he is back in public view—this time with a show of his own, a three-week "Omnibus" series on the Constitution. He has emerged from retirement to defend the Constitution, which, he says, these days is "somewhat without a friend." In particular, he hopes to move in on those who use the Fifth Amendment "as a device to condemn people publicly." "It is odd," says Friend of the Constitution Welch, "that merely to assert a right so fundamental as to be part of the Constitution has come to be considered as something wrong." In a splash of modesty, the 65-year-old Bostonian declared, "I have no confidence in Welch as an actor." Fact is, he is a better actor than a student of the Constitution.

The Fund for the Republic has announced prizes up to a top of $20,000 for TV programs that express what a Fund for the Republic-selected board considers the ideal of "civil liberties." We wonder what the Liberal commentators would have to say about "suborning freedom of speech" if similar prizes of such amounts were offered by, for example, Facts Forum or For America.

Unraveled Mystery

In his reply to Ex-President Truman, General MacArthur has made two grave charges: a) that the Chinese Reds, before entering the Korean war, were secretly assured their Manchurian sanctuary would be untouched; and b) that the reports to Washington of MacArthur's plans were daily leaked to the Communist enemy, perhaps by the British defectors, Burgess and Maclean. The first of these charges implies a treasonable softness toward Communism among persons in high places, since only highly placed persons could have given the required assurances.

Obviously the charges call for investigation, but by whom?

The Senate has attempted to dig into these same events, but was frustrated by Executive secrecy. A group named by the President would start with the handicap that General Marshall, one of the principal persons involved, is his longtime patron and friend. Congress should establish a mixed Commission, like that now reviewing the security system, with members from Congress, the Administration, and the public. Such a Commission still might not get the necessary documents, but the State and Defense Departments, the CIA and FBI, could not plead the constitutional separation of powers in refusing them.

The Friendly Bear

Many commentators have condemned Bulganin as "insincere" in his persistent proffering of "Friendship Pacts." We rise to defend him against the imputation of this particular vice. There is no reason at all, so far as we can see, why Bulganin should be or be thought insincere. The Kremlin has had a long and happy experience in the proposing of Friendship Pacts. Nothing could be more natural than its wish for two or three new ones printed from the time-tested stencil.

In 1934, for example, Moscow signed ten-year Friendship Pacts with Poland and Finland, obviously a sensible step in the preparation of the 1939 attacks. Beginning in 1921, Moscow negotiated a recurrent series of Friendship Pacts with Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania. The latest were signed in the autumn of 1939 (September 28 for Esthonia, October 5 for Latvia, and October 10 for Lithuania). Less than a year later, by August 1940, all three were comfortably incorporated with the hospitable USSR.

Across the world, Moscow signed a Friendship Pact with Chiang Kai-shek's Chinese government in August 1945. Harry Truman, George Marshall and Dean Acheson can tell us about that one.

So, we repeat, we believe that Bulganin's present overtures are sincere enough, in all conscience. The Kremlin's Friendship-Pact doctrine is straightforward. A pact—any pact—has *no* restrictive effect on *their* conduct, as they have many times quite openly explained (*cf.* Litvinov's speech to the League of Nations on the nature of diplomacy). A pact *may* have an effect on an opponent—giving him a sense of security, leading him to let up on defensive measures. So how can you lose? And if the opponent refuses the pact, he can be denounced to the gullible as intransigent and war-minded.

Bulganin, then, is sincere in offering Friendship Pacts; and we hope that the President, Prime Minister Eden and Premier Mollet are equally sincere in rejecting them. The President made some sensible points in his letter of refusal, but we would have liked to read therein a somewhat clearer analysis of what Bulganin was up to, and a sharper explanation of the general Soviet strategy. We are not sure, in fact, that Bulganin does not have, so far, the better of the argument. If so, he will make the most of his advantage.

At Geneva last July, the President declared his conviction that the Soviet leaders were genuinely seeking peace, and that peaceful coexistence between the Communist Soviet Union and the United States was both desirable and possible. He remained cordial in tone in his current reply to Bulganin, and he said nothing to indicate that he has changed these Geneva opinions. But if the Soviet leaders really seek peace, and if genuine peace is really possible on the basis

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of the present Soviet structure and rule, what right have we to refuse a pact of friendship that expresses exactly these suppositions and the whole Geneva outlook?

By refusing, without giving any serious motivation for our refusal—without telling the truth about the Soviet leaders and Soviet strategy—we appear to the rest of the world as indeed intransigent, arbitrary and war-minded. That is the way, of course, that Bulganin and his colleagues planned it.

To Err Is Truman

Mr. Truman craves the position of the underdog, which enables him to get publicity and sympathy for the kind of attack he is most at home making—the kind one expects, and tends to excuse, in men whose back is against the wall. His preoccupation, then, is to find a wall. They do not abound for good, reliable Democratic journeymen. But necessity is the mother of invention, and Mr. Truman has at last come up with a complaint: Vice President Nixon, he sobs, has called him a traitor.

Mr. Nixon, of course, never did any such thing, and no serious observer ever thought he did. Just the same, in our Age of Gentility, it was felt necessary by the chairman of the Republican National Committee to enter into the record a specific denial. No, said Mr. Leonard Hall solemnly, neither Nixon nor any other Republican questions "the loyalty of Mr. Truman, Mr. Stevenson, or other leaders" of the Democratic Party.

Yes, yes, yes. Every U.S. politician is 150 per cent patriotic. Now: What *did* Nixon say about Truman? He said, in October 1952:

> I charge that the buried record will show that Mr. Truman and his associates, either through stupidity or political expedience, were primarily responsible for the unimpeded growth of the Communist conspiracy within the United States. I further charge that Mr. Truman, Dean Acheson and other Administration officials for political reasons covered up this Communist conspiracy and attempted to halt its exposure.

Mr. Nixon had weighed his words carefully.

The Assault on Miss Lucy

On February 6, Miss Autherine J. Lucy went to class at the University of Alabama, which admitted her by order of a federal court. When she left the building, she was assaulted by a mob. The rioters shattered the rear window of her car with a barrage of rocks. It was the culmination of a weekend of demonstrations against the admission of a Negro to a university traditionally reserved for white students.

The reaction of the student body—the mob violence, the hoodlumism—is a disgrace. (It was inevitable that soberer students should protest the activities of their classmates, as they were quick to do through the Student Council.) It is right that such behavior should shock and horrify a nation which believes that protest should be orderly. However, the nation cannot get away with feigning surprise at the fact that there was a demonstration by students, nor even that the demonstration became ugly and uncontrolled. For in defiance of constitutional practice, with a total disregard of custom and tradition, the Supreme Court, a year ago, illegalized a whole set of deeply-rooted folkways and mores; and now we are engaged in attempting to enforce our law.

The incident involving Miss Lucy is only one of many such incidents whose occurrence we had better get used to if we intend to enforce the Supreme Court's decision at bayonet point. Not because violence, by constant repetition, becomes less horrible, but because, as a politically experienced people, we had better face up to the consequences of exacting of a whole region of our country, compliance with a law that, in the opinion of Southerners, unsettles the basis of their society. The Supreme Court elected to tamper with organic growth. It must, under the circumstances, accept the fatherhood of social deformity.

Travesty

In December, NATIONAL REVIEW remarked, with deep sorrow, the death of Robert S. Byfield, one of the best instructed businessmen in America on the nature and threat of Communism and socialism. We learned, subsequently, that a group of businessmen, determined to memorialize his tireless efforts to proclaim the meaning of Communism, had decided to set up a scholarship fund in his memory, and to turn over its administration to Cornell University.

Recently, the *Investment Dealers' Digest* announced the criteria with reference to which proceeds from the Fund would be awarded. The money will go to a graduate student, working for a master's degree, *"who devotes the most constructive effort toward studying how Communism and Democracy can live together happily in peace and progress"!*

It is a mad world we live in, but we did not know that it was capable of being unkind to the memory of a dead man. Robert S. Byfield devoted his life to warning that attempts to reconcile opposites result in suicide. It is customary, at this point, to comment that Mr. Byfield must be turning over in his grave. But we knew Mr. Byfield, and he would not be satisfied with any such gesture of dissent. The first little appeaser who spends a penny from a Fund devoted to the memory of Robert S. Byfield to show how Com-

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munism and Democracy can, hand in hand, dance down the ages toward an infinity of conjugal happiness, has a surprise coming. Mr. Byfield will up, out of his grave, and clobber him.

Wasteland

The Civil Aeronautics Administration is one of the innumerable federal agencies whose principal occupation seems to be, simply, to grow. Some statute, no doubt, describes what the CAA was created to do, and there is no question but that some CAA employees are doing it, and doing it well. But big as "it" may be, the CAA seems to be bigger.

Even we, devoted students of the federal fungus, sometimes forget just *how* big a federal agency can get. Thanks to the firm of Cresap, McCormick & Paget, management engineers, we have boned up. These efficiency experts have made a thorough study of the CAA and have submitted five major proposals. Their net recommendation: The Civil Aeronautics Administration would increase its effectiveness by firing about 3,300 employees; and, incidentally, save the Department of Commerce some eighteen million dollars a year.

Why in heaven's name aren't these men and women dismissed? They can always, after all, make a living by going out and farming—or, rather, by going out and *not* farming. Verily, the conspicuous waste of statism surpasses anything that ever outraged the pinched and crabbed soul of Thorstein Veblen.

Sit Semper

The Roman Catholic Church, we assume, was delighted to learn that although slightly behind Standard Oil of New Jersey, it rates above most other contemporary organizations in efficiency and excellence in "management practices." That is the verdict of the American Institute of Management which, in such matters, speaks, needless to say, ex cathedra.

To savor fully the meaning of the Church's accomplishment, consider that the Institute deems the rating of a mere 75 as "excellent." The Catholic Church scored 88! To be sure, Standard Oil made 90. But then it is, more measurably anyway, a profit-making institution, so any comparison is invidious. Among the organizational weaknesses singled out by the Institute: "Staff research"—"sufficient provision for it is lacking." And the Pope—"Too much line and staff responsibility is vested in him." We have not seen the full report, but we can guess that St. Bonaventure really came in for it—"Takes too much time to get to the point"? and, of course, St. Peter's Cathedral—"Much wasted cubic space"?

The Skin of Our Teeth

Just at the moment when the protests about this or that trait of the magazine are about to break our back, Providence moves in. A couple of weeks ago, someone wrote in to say *he was receiving his magazine regularly!* That saved the circulation manager. This week, amid protests about the language we sometimes use, a correspondent wrote us, "Baroque being of course the high style of our civilization, a reader salutes you as editors in the words of [W. H. Auden, who thus] defends his new baroque mode:

> Be subtle, various, ornamental, clever,
> And do not listen to those critics ever
> Whose crude provincial gullets crave in books
> Plain cooking made still plainer by plain cooks.

That saved Frank S. Meyer.

A Judgment on the Hughes Case

The indictment of Paul Hughes was on six counts of alleged perjury committed in testimony before a Federal Grand Jury in March 1955. The first four counts cited statements made by Hughes to the effect that on certain occasions during 1954 Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., Alfred Friendly, James Wiggins, Telford Taylor and others had discussed Harvey Matusow. The last two counts concerned Hughes' affirmation to the Grand Jury that in his opinion Mr. Rauh was aware that Hughes' representation of himself as a McCarthy secret investigator was false and that his reports on McCarthy's doings were doctored.

In the trial of these charges Rauh, Friendly, Fritchey, Wiggins, Graham, Taylor, Murray Marder, Gen. Cornelius Mara and James Wechsler were among the government witnesses. They all testified that Hughes had lied, that Matusow had not been discussed by any of them in his presence; and Rauh testified that he had believed Hughes' story of his relation to McCarthy.

On Friday, February 3, after a two weeks trial, the jury acquitted Hughes on the first two counts of the indictment, and was "hung"—unable to reach a unanimous verdict—on the remaining four counts. A juror subsequently reported that the division on count 3 was 6-6, and 11-1 in favor of acquittal on the other three.

From time to time in the course of events there takes place a symbolic incident that suddenly puts before our vision the concentrated meaning of a complex historical process. Though its scale is humbler and more banal than the mighty exemplars that we find in history books, the Hughes trial was such an

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incident. What this trial exactly symbolized was the nature and functioning of what NATIONAL REVIEW calls "the Liberal Machine"—the politico-ideological caste that controls the major part of the "communications" of this country and a major share in this country's rule.

The trial displayed in the first place the fact that the Liberal Machine *is* a machine. These witnesses whom we have named are a cross-section of the responsible leaders of powerful institutions that are at the ideological core of contemporary Liberalism. Joseph Rauh is Chairman of Americans for Democratic Action; Telford Taylor is Chairman of the National Committee for an Effective Congress; Friendly, Wiggins and Graham run the *Washington Post and Times-Herald;* James Wechsler is editor of the *New York Post;* Cornelius Mara was a White House aide and intimate of President Truman; Clayton Fritchey is editor of the Democratic Party's official magazine *Democratic Digest,* and deputy chairman of the Party's National Committee. This was in no sense a casual selection of unrelated individuals. The evidence shows that they and their institutions are actively interrelated—"interlocked" as one says of business corporations. These men know each other intimately, confide in each other, collaborate actively, give mutual support and assistance. They advance money to each other without question or security, without inquiry even about its intended use.

It was these men and the Machine of which they constitute an important segment who were, historically and philosophically speaking, up for judgment. Legally, of course, Paul Hughes was the individual defendant; and like any other citizen he deserved—and got—a fair hearing, with the full protection of the law. But before, during and after the trial, everybody, including Hughes, knew that Hughes was a liar and a scoundrel. The serious trial was of these renowned leaders of the Liberal Machine.

For ten days a jury of twelve plain, attentive Americans watched and heard these men. Cut off from their usual bolstering fanfare of friendly press and radio and mutual adulation, each in turn sat before the jury on the bare and relentless witness chair. The twelve citizens of the jury, at the end, by refusing to convict Hughes, affirmed that in their considered judgment they could not believe these leaders of the Liberal Machine, not even on their most solemn oath. The jury judged them, and found them rotten.

We have called Paul Hughes a "political pander." By this epithet we mean that he offers men, for money, prostituted facts designed, as he thinks, to satisfy their political lusts. When Hughes left the Air Force in 1953, he first tried to sell staff members of the Senate Subcommittee on Investigations (then known as "the McCarthy committee") fraudulent but enticing evidence of Communist subversion in Arabia, where he had been stationed. The committee staff director (Francis Carr) listened, as was his duty, made a rapid check and a rapid judgment of the man, and within a few days rejected both Hughes and his story. The FBI, similarly approached by Hughes at about the same time and again a year later, similarly responded: it checked, judged and quickly rejected.

Hughes then crossed over, to work the other side of the street. He offered Mara, Fritchey, Rauh, Friendly and the others what he believed—and how rightly!—that *they* wanted: a story, a vast and cumulative story, of the nefarious, the infamous deeds of Senator McCarthy and his staff. *For a year,* the Liberals bought—bought and paid for—his wares. Hughes gave them everything that their desires and his wit could imagine; tales of crime and misdemeanor; of rumors and plots; of personal viciousness and public perfidy; of family scandal; of brutality and armament and conspiracy and forgery and intimidation; of tapped phones and stolen documents and mysterious rendezvous; of deals and counter-deals.

And all this while, according to their own testimony, they believed Hughes to be a confidential employee of the Senate Subcommittee (or of Senator McCarthy), who was communicating to them the secrets of his employer—and of a Senate Committee—and was turning over to them scores of documents

Some Unanswered Questions

The Hughes trial leaves unanswered questions. Some of these, we hope, will some day be at least in some measure explained.

How many more still unidentified persons knew about the Liberal deal with Hughes, and the material that Hughes was furnishing?

Did this Hughes operation during 1954 connect up, and if so how, with the other maneuvers in the great campaign to "get McCarthy" that began with the still censored February White House conference that year, and ended with the Senate's vote of censure?

Have we heard everything about the source of the money that was paid to Hughes? Or was Rauh lying, and Hughes right in his belief—of which we have heard supporting news from elsewhere—that much of the money came from, or was repaid by, a most prominent and still unnamed driver of the Liberal Machine?

What does the Senate think about those tampering with Senate committees, documents and employees?

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copied or taken from confidential files of the Senate and other branches of the government.

These Liberal publicists, who have so often and so loudly condemned the use of "political spies" and "secret informers," were thus making deliberate and extended and blanket use of one whom they believed to be a political spy and secret informer—one who, moreover, had told them explicitly and in writing that he was not merely being personally disloyal to his employer but was prepared to use illegal methods to get his alleged information.

An effort has been made in one quarter to excuse the Liberal leaders on the grounds that, after all, the secret informer is, these days, an orthodox aid in public controversy.

The Department of Justice, some government security boards and some congressional committees use secret informers on some occasions. They do so as official agencies of the government, under sanction of custom, law and relevant administrative rulings, subject in the end to all judicial safeguards. Secret informers have always been used by police forces as a weapon against the underworld. In our day, their use has been extended to defend the nation's security against an international conspiracy that operates by methods of the underworld.

Let us do away with confidential informants, dossiers, political spies . . .
No one can guess where this process of informing will end.
JOSEPH L. RAUH, JR., in an article, "Informers, G-Men, and Free Men," The Progressive, May 1950

The Liberals who consorted with Hughes are not legally or morally empowered to pay large sums of money to scoundrels who tell them of a readiness to betray their employers and to rifle safes and files. They have, we presume, no special legal exemption from the laws of slander and libel covering the spreading of false and injurious tales about fellow citizens. Nor are they authorized to interfere with, to sabotage indeed, the work of a committee of the sovereign legislature of the United States.

On two major points that have been long at public issue, the Hughes Trial is a conclusive commentary.

1. For seven years the nation has echoed charges about "hysteria," and these charges have for the most part come from the Liberal Machine, directed against "hard anti-Communists" and what the Machine terms "reactionaries." Now, through the Hughes case, we can accurately test just who has been hysterical.

Hughes took his fraudulent lies to the FBI and to a Senate investigating committee headed by the man identified by the Liberal Machine as the arch-hysteric. In both cases, the response was calm, orderly, objective. In both cases, after a proper but brief consideration, Hughes was thrown out.

Hughes took his fraudulent lies to leaders of the Liberal Machine. For a year they clasped him to their political bosom. That is: either they were deliberately conspiring with Hughes in his frauds to frame McCarthy (as Hughes claims), or they were so blinded by irrational passion and prejudice that they needed a year to uncover a liar whom Francis Carr and the FBI spotted in a week.

There has been hysteria, the Hughes case proves, and it proves where the hysteria has been located.

2. The Liberal spokesmen have long attacked "the Right" on professed grounds of moral righteousness. On hundreds of occasions they have denounced "immoral methods," the doctrine of "the end justifies the means"; and have called for truly "ethical" rules for handling political disputes.

The Hughes Trial proves that this Liberal morality is either hypocrisy or self-delusion. The Liberal Machine, in the persons of a representative section of its leadership, is revealed as making long and unrestrained use of the doctrines and the methods that it has so vocally and so self-righteously denounced.

The symbolic significance of the Hughes Trial is not confined to that section of the Liberal Machine which was immediately present in the courtroom. By what they said and did not say—say and do not say—concerning the Hughes Trial, all the leaders and spokesmen of the Liberal Machine and all its press were on historic trial with Rauh, Fritchey and Friendly.

And what have the rest been saying? The answer is a vast, scarcely broken silence throughout the land. A paragraph by Max Lerner, a couple of evasive editorials in the *Washington Post* and the *New York Post* (both of them *directly* involved in the testimony and thereby compelled to say *something*), an obscure, shamelessly distorted coverage in the news columns of the very largest Liberal papers: that is all.

An adjacent box lists a few prominent Liberal moralizers with daily access to the press from whom —one week after the verdict—we have yet to hear with respect to the case of Paul Hughes.

But there are others—who write irregularly, but always with fervor, on the issues raised—from whom we look forward to hearing.

Professor Sidney Hook has for some years been lecturing all of us on "the ethics of controversy," and the deplorable ethical failures of some hard anti-Communists. We await his ethical analysis of the Hughes case. We hope for a word also from Profes-

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sors Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. and Henry Commager, who have had much to say in the past on these problems. And, of course, Elmer Davis.

Richard H. Rovere recently, in *Harper's,* and not for the first time, expressed his horror at secret informers. Perhaps he will be moved to make the Hughes case the subject of one of his periodic articles in the *New Yorker.*

And the journals of the Liberal moralizers—the *Reporter,* the *Commonweal,* the *Atlantic,* the *New Republic,* the *New Leader,* the *Progressive,* along with *Harper's* and the *New Yorker*: we await their reflections on this reflecting case.

And by all means, we must hear from Mr. Robert Hutchins, on behalf of the Fund for the Republic.

Finally: What is the judgment of the thousands of sincere citizens who believe a single standard ought to govern the activities of Liberals and conservatives alike; who deplore filthy intrigue, childlike credulity, intercourse with panders? What have they to say to men and organizations in which they have trusted? What have they to say to the *Washington Post,* to Clayton Fritchey, to Joseph L. Rauh?

Free But Not Responsible

After the Hughes Trial ended, a juror told reporters that the testimony of Assistant U.S. Attorney Thomas A. Bolan had had a major influence on the verdict. The press reports about this crucial testimony, at the time it was given, are a fair test of newspaper accuracy and impartiality.

Bolan was asked about the credibility of Rauh, Wechsler and Friendly, the government's primary witnesses. Had these three, the defense wished to know, changed the stories they had told Bolan in his preliminary investigation? And did one man's story conflict with another's?

Bolan identified three discrepancies:

1. Rauh testified on the stand that Wechsler had been given only a few hints of Rauh's involvement with Hughes. But, testified Bolan, in his original statement Rauh had told of prolonged discussions with Wechsler.

2. In his first day's testimony, Wechsler backed Rauh up. The second day he modified his testimony. Between the first and second day, Bolan revealed, the government had shown Wechsler his statement in the preliminary investigation.

3. Friendly testified that the sum of $2,000 had been given Hughes to put his family in a place safe from McCarthy's wrath. Rauh's original story, Bolan testified, described certain anti-McCarthy ventures the $2,000 was to pay for.

Bolan absolved Rauh and Friendly of inconsistencies in what they had told about Matusow.

Now here is this key testimony as reported by the Liberal press:

Washington Post, January 31, 1956:
Assistant United States Attorney Thomas A. Bolan testified Rauh's testimony differed slightly from a statement Rauh had given him when Hughes was being called before the grand jury last spring.

Bolan said none of the statements by Government witnesses had been "inconsistent."

[Bolan did not say that. He cleared Rauh only on Matusow.]

New York Post, January 30, 1956:
Defense attorney Martin Erdmann next called Asst. U.S. Atty. Thomas A. Bolan and asked him about his talks with Hughes and Rauh before Hughes went before the grand jury. Concerning a statement Rauh made to him in their first long conversation, Erdmann asked:

"Did anything he told you vary from the testimony he gave on the witness stand?"

"Yes," Bolan said.

But "at no time did Rauh or Wechsler or any other government witness give testimony which was inconsistent," Bolan asserted.

New York Times, January 31, 1956:
Mr. Bolan testified to several alleged discrepancies in testimony at the trial and that given before the grand jury.

Mr. Bolan related that when Mr. Rauh went to James A. Wechsler, editor of the *New York Post,* with the "McCarthy exposé," Mr. Rauh asked Mr. Wechsler "not to tell even Mrs. Schiff [Dorothy Schiff, the publisher], because being a woman she might not be able to keep a secret."

[The question was not the reliability of Mrs. Schiff, but whether Rauh had changed his original story.]

Editorial Coverage of Hughes Case: A Partial Box Score

Newspapers

New York Herald Tribune: no comment
New York Post: no comment
New York Times: no comment

Columnists

Joseph and Stewart Alsop: no comment
Marquis Childs: no comment
Roscoe Drummond: no comment
Doris Fleeson: no comment
Murray Kempton: no comment
Drew Pearson: no comment
Thomas L. Stokes: no comment

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The Liberal Line...

WILLMOORE KENDALL

As we saw last week and the week before, at least two Liberal publicists have now switched to a new line on the state of our civil liberties, namely: Our liberties *are* safe, after all. Or, as this columnist permitted himself to rephrase it last week: We Liberals are winning — despite our recent statements to the contrary — on the big civil rights issues.

Last week's column went on to say: it isn't really civil liberties we find ourselves talking about these days, but the peculiar concept of civil liberties that the Liberals are out to put across. And it promised further discussion of that point, still with an eye on Professor John P. Roche's current "State of Our Liberties" series in the *New Republic*.

Well, let's raise with Mr. Roche two simple questions, and take careful note of how he answers them:

1) Do the Liberals attach to the phrase "civil liberties" the meaning it has had in the American past, or a new meaning? If a new meaning, then 2) How does the current Liberal concept of civil liberties differ from the traditional American concept?

On the first question, Mr. Roche is crystal-clear. "It is almost true to say," he writes, "that *the American Civil Liberties Union invented civil rights*" — above all, by supplying a "formula — a public relations 'package' — a body of civil rights doctrine," around which "teachers, trade unionists, ministers, editors, and others who had previously lived in atomistic impotence" could be mobilized. In short: the present-day Liberals' concept of civil liberties is a "modern [post-World War One] development," and *not* traditional (as Elmer Davis wished us to regard it two weeks ago.)

On the second question — how does the present-day concept (i.e., the one Mr. Roche believes to be faring well these days) differ from the traditional American concept? — he is — well, as clear as the jargon and prejudices of the contemporary Liberal social scientist will let a man be.

In the past, Roche argues, an American's civil liberties were (and, one supposes, were understood to be, since the ACLU had not yet "invented" the present-day concept) a "coefficient of his sub-culture." "If he remained among his co-believers his rights were secure (and *he* was secure in his right to enforce his opinions on non-believers in his bailiwick)." If, on the other hand, "he travelled among heathens, he expressed himself at his peril." The great bulk of Americans, Roche concedes, *did* have "substantial freedom." But that was merely because "they lived and died among their co-opinionists . . . where . . . unquestioning allegiance was rendered to the vital myths of the group." And if it is otherwise today, as Roche believes it is, that is because "civil liberties elites" have carried out appropriate "legal and educational campaigns." On behalf of what? Why, on behalf of the "rights of nonconformists" — or, as we found Roche putting it last week, "kindness" toward those who challenge the "established order." Under the old concept, "woe" to the man who "laid profane hands on the Ark of the Covenant, who rejected a key myth [of his community]." From community to community, to be sure, the house of gods might vary; but wherever they were violated, the violator was deemed to have "exceeded permissible difference of opinion," and the reaction was invariable; tar and feathers, the knout, etc. Under the new concept, as Mr. Roche does not get around to saying but clearly has to mean, people can violate the house gods *without* exceeding "permissible difference of opinion."

Mr. Roche is, of course, only being cute when he speaks of "house gods" and the "Ark of the Covenant." What is in question is the institutions and principles that the people of a community believe in, and mean business about — *you* said it, their "key *myths*." And what is in question further is what the community does when John Doe rejects those institutions and principles, and avowedly sets out to destroy them. The old concept expected the community to have such institutions and principles, and to place some attitudes toward them outside the range of "permissible difference of opinion" (Mr. Roche notes, a little nervously, that Thomas Jefferson wished the University of Virginia to "lay down the principles [of government] that ought to be taught . . . [and to] guard against . . . the diffusion of . . . poison," and that, worse still, that same Thomas Jefferson opposed the appointment of a Federalist-Nationalist to the university's chair of law!) The old concept, moreover, took it for granted that the community would strike back at persons who pronounced themselves enemies of those institutions and principles. The new concept, Mr. Roche must mean, has got beyond all that; it expects the community *not* to strike back, and regards civil liberties as secure only where the house of gods can be "denigrated" with impunity. For he concludes, "Unless one is willing to defend the rights of persons whose views . . . are . . . ranked . . . as subversion or sacrilege, he cannot in justice claim to defend civil liberty."

Mr. Roche is, of course, saying nothing about nonconformity that John Stuart Mill did not say before him. The point is, rather, that the Liberals have been so busy lately proving that nobody hates Communism more than they do, that the issues that divide Liberals from the rest of us have got somewhat obscured, and it was high time some clear voice within their own camp summoned the Liberals back to their first principles. These do indeed hold that the good society tolerates any — and thus also the Communist — kind of challenge to the "established order." They do indeed hold that all ideas, however denigrating of the house gods, fall within the range of "permissible difference of opinion." And they do indeed — in open opposition to sound American tradition — hold that where a community strikes back at its nonconformists, civil liberty atrophies.

As this columnist never misses a chance to say, it isn't that the Liberals aren't anti-Communist; they are merely anti-Communist in a peculiar sort of way. That is, they are committed to first principles that automatically exclude effective anti-Communist action. And they cannot go along when the community sets out to do something about its Communists. Not even if they would like to.

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I Acknowledge My Mistakes

A famous writer who once sympathized with the "Soviet experiment" considers his past errors, tells how he came to make them and what—in a free country—he lived to learn from them

MAX EASTMAN

"Acknowledge your mistakes" is one of the ordeals they put a thinking man through in Soviet Russia before shooting him as an enemy of the people. It occurs to me that if the mistakes were not dictated by an external power, and the shooting were also left for the victim to decide upon in case he feels that bad, the ritual might be good for us all. My own big political mistakes, counting from the very beginning, seem to be four in number, although I can be wholly blamed only for the last three.

My first mistake was to be born in a family where kindness and fair-dealing and good logic prevailed to such a degree that when I got out into the public world it looked excessively unjust, cruel, irrational; a subject for indignation and extreme action. It wasn't a bitter or distorted childhood that set me off on a wrong course, but just the opposite. My father was a liberal-minded Christian minister with a passion for farming. The happiest day of his life was when his nervous system broke down and he had to abandon the pulpit and get out on the soil. In consequence I grew up outdoors on a stock farm instead of indoors in a parsonage. My early life was happy and, but for the long summer days I had to spend cultivating the corn or pitching hay or hoeing potatoes, I was free. I loved all kinds of farm work—but I didn't like to do it. I preferred to watch other people do it. This caused a rather sharp difference between me and my father, but it came out all right in the end. I persuaded him that I was by nature a student —an ingenious name I invented for my disinclination toward physical labor—and he finally decided that my case was absolutely hopeless.

I mention this in order to make clear that my further mistakes were not the result of repression or frustration. It was not envy, or privation, or "economic backwardness" that made me into a revolutionist. It is not these age-old things—though both Truman and Eisenhower seem to think so—that have lifted hundreds of millions of people all over the earth into a sacrificial crusade to destroy our relatively free civilization in the cause of what they call a social ownership of the means of production. The reason for that is—the basic and most general reason—that they compare the world as it is, not with something better that might be possible, but with an ideal of perfection.

That is the inner emotional core of the metaphysical mania called Marxism. Marx took the celestial paradise down out of heaven, called it a classless society, and said it was to be achieved on earth by waging war on existing governments and upper classes. Marxism is not a practical or scientific scheme for solving the world's problems, but a religion—a godless religion, but a religion just the same. We are still going to heaven, but the heaven is on earth, and we are to get there, not by being good, but by being bad—by introducing the morals of war into the peacetime relations of men.

That is what the Western world is up against—an armed international religion. And few of our statesmen or diplomats of either party seem able to grasp it. Once you do grasp it, you are not surprised to find converts to this religion in high places. You won't be deceived into thinking that because a man is dressed in a pin-stripe suit, and has good looks and suave manners and a smooth tongue, like Alger Hiss, he can't possibly be a zealot of the new religion. On the other hand you are not deceived into thinking you can stop the crusade by giving dollars to those who can't afford a pin-stripe suit.

How to be Unpopular

Before getting down to my task of humility, I will permit myself a small boast about the mistakes I made. They never got me anywhere personally—nor did my recoveries from them. My timing was always wrong. I was a militant advocate of the Great Experiment in Soviet Russia in the teens and twenties when practically every respected person in the United States was against it. I was defending Bolshevism in my magazine *The Liberator* as the "beginning of a new world where possibilities of Life and freedom for all are now certainly immeasurable," when the American press in general was firm in the opinion that Bolshevism was synonomous with the Nationalization of Women.

Then in the 1930's when the whole American intelligentsia, most especially the literary vanguard to which I belonged, began to whoop it up for the Soviets and the great age of proletarian democracy that was dawning, I was foolhardy enough to discover that the whole thing had been a flop. It was in 1935 and '36, at the height of what has been called the Red Decade in American letters, that I composed my epoch-making work, *The End of Socialism in Russia*, which sold, if I remember rightly, exactly two hundred and eighty-four copies.

Again in 1941 at the tiptop of the fever curve of the Second World War, when Russia as Our Noble Ally was adored as a paragon of freedom in a crusade for democracy, I wrote—and what is more startling, DeWitt Wallace published in the *Reader's Digest* —an article entitled "To Collaborate Successfully We Must Face the Facts

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About Russia." The facts I proposed we should face were the facts everybody is facing now: the blood purges, the executions without trial, the war on the peasants, the massacre of enterprising farmers called Kulaks, the slave camps. It was one of the boldest things that a popular American magazine ever did—seventeen pages of it in the lead position at the front of the *Reader's Digest*—and it had, the editors told me, the widest repercussion of anything they ever published. But it did not contribute to my popularity among the raving patriots.

And right now I am under the ban again among those who used to be my friends, because they've all gone in for the Big Brother Welfare State, while I have come to the conclusion that, whatever may have been true in the past, at this hour Big Government and not Big Business is the main enemy of freedom.

To get down to those mistakes: My second was that naive and thoughtless one of comparing reality with perfection, instead of comparing it with something better that might be possible. I believed in the myth of a classless society. I didn't swallow down the whole Marxian religion, I am happy to say. According to that religion history itself is an escalator carrying us all upward, whether we like it or not, toward an earthly paradise. The Communists are walking with history and will get there. The anti-Communists are walking the wrong way, clogging the whole thing and delaying it, and may legitimately be dealt with somewhat as heretics were dealt with in past ages by a more spiritual religion. To be exact about the procedure, they may be taken down the cellar-stairs and shot in the back of the neck on the way down.

I never believed in this so-called "dialectic" escalator. My approach was, in form at least, scientific. I regarded socialism, not as historically inevitable but as an experiment that ought to be tried. That saved me from becoming a fanatic. It prevented my ever joining a Communist party. But it made all the more inexcusable my next big mistake.

With all my skeptical and scientific common sense, I fell absolutely for the Russian Bolshevik Revolution of October 1917. I went all out for the insurrectionary seizure of power by Lenin and Trotsky and the executive committee of their small minority party. I believed with a haste and eagerness which had little to do with science, that the socialist experiment I had talked about was being made in Russia, and was succeeding. I backed Lenin and Trotsky to the limit.

Pilgrimage to Moscow

After defending them for five years on this side of the ocean, I made the pilgrimage to Moscow in 1922. I told my friends I was going over to find out whether what I had been saying was true, but of course I found it true. Part of it, indeed, was true. Lenin's New Economic Policy, a half step back to capitalism, had just been adopted, and there was food enough, and, compared to what came later, a great deal of freedom. Those who assert that Lenin's regime was "just as bad" as Stalin's are ignorant of the facts. Lenin created the one-party totalitarian state, but he did it reluctantly. He tried to prevent the new gang tyranny implicit in it. He died fighting a losing battle against the growth of a new ruling class, a thing which his theories had never contemplated, and which he called Bureaucratism. Stalin, on the contrary, loved and cherished Bureaucratism. He loved totalitarian gang rule, loved not only the one-party but the one-man state, including the barbaric deification of his own person, any tendency toward which Lenin spat on and laughed to scorn. Lenin's invention made Stalin's tyranny possible. His misguided faith in the Marxian Escalator lies at the bottom of the whole totalitarian tragedy: Stalin, Mussolini, Hitler, Mao Tse-tung—the whole business. But it is a distortion of history to identify Stalin's actual regime with that of Lenin and Trotsky.

Therefore I don't feel too apologetic about my *immediate* reaction to what I found in Russia in 1922. The socialist experiment seemed to be going well. Lenin was already too sick for me to try to see him, but I became good friends with Trotsky. I persuaded him, in the intervals of his task as Secretary of War and Commander-in-Chief of the Red Army, to tell me his life story and let me make a book of it. Working in a foreign language, that was an exacting task, and occupied much of my time during the year and nine months that I stayed in Russia. Perhaps that's another reason why I didn't have any critical reactions—or any strong ones—to the course that my much-loved "socialist experiment" was taking. I had too much to do. It was all too exciting. It wasn't that I took a wrong turn, but that having started on a wrong course I didn't take any turn at all.

My real emotional blindness came when, six months after Lenin's death, I saw Stalin's steamroller run over Trotsky and with him every man in the party who wanted to continue Lenin's struggle against Bureaucratism. I saw it more closely and intimately, I believe, than any other foreign non-party visitor ever saw any of the inside workings of Communism in Russia. For Trotsky gave me a pass admitting me to the meeting in the Tsar's palace within the Kremlin of the thirteenth congress of the Russian Communist Party, in May 1924. That was the point at which Stalin, as secretary of the Party, having packed the Congress with delegates who owed their jobs to him and would back him through thick and thin, attacked Trotsky and broke him down and destroyed his authority in the party.

It was the climax of a press campaign against Trotsky and the anti-bureaucratic opposition that has few equals in the history of slander and falsification. It was made tense, too, by the fact that all the delegates were thinking about something they dared not mention. The document called "Lenin's Testament," his death-bed letter to the party, warning them against Stalin's excessive power and endorsing Trotsky as the ablest man among them, had on the insistence of Lenin's widow been read privately to the delegates. But it was locked up in the safe and the order issued that no one should mention it on the floor of the congress. The outside world was never to hear of it.

Trotsky himself obeyed that order. He made no allusion to Lenin's warning, no reply to the storm of slanders against him and his following. He made what he considered a diplomatic speech. It was weak. It was almost incredibly submissive. It contained the fantastic statement that the party could not in the nature of things make a mistake. Nobody would have dreamed, hearing him, that he had ever been a great orator, the organizer of a victorious insurrection, commander of an army that had fought five invaders to

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a standstill on a front seven thousand miles long. Trotsky was a great soldier, a great orator, a great writer, but in the art of practical politics, he was an absolute dud. He could no more have taken Lenin's place as leader of the Bolshevik party than he could have flown over the moon. He knew that. And so did I. But I also knew that in continuing Lenin's struggle against Bureaucratism, against the solidification of a new ruling class of state officials, he was defending the only hope there was left of a Workers and Peasants Republic ultimately emerging out of this seizure of power and confiscation of capital by a party. That was the truth, and I thought the truth ought to be defended.

I had gone up to the platform to shake hands with Trotsky and thank him for my pass before the meeting began—incidentally to say goodbye to him, for I was leaving Russia in just a few days. He had asked me what I was going to do when I got home.

"I'm not going to *do* anything," I said. "I'm going to think and write."

He smiled his disapproval—for it was very un-Marxian, that separation of thought from action. To make it worse, I added: "I believe in the class struggle but I love peace."

"You love peace, you ought to be arrested!" he said, and we parted with a laugh.

But after I heard him give his case away, and give the truth away, in that feeble attempt to make a diplomatic speech, I couldn't sit still. I went up again, during an intermission, and pled with him to take command of the situation.

"In God's name," I said, or words to that effect, "Why don't you peel off your coat and roll up your sleeves and sail in and clean them up? Read Lenin's Testament yourself. Don't *let* them lock it up. Expose the whole conspiracy. Expose it and attack it head on. It isn't your fight, it's the fight for the revolution. If you don't make it now, you'll never make it. It's your last chance."

He looked at me in some surprise. I had been on the whole a respectful biographer. I thought he even weighed my advice a moment—at least he paused for reflection. Then he gave me a quizzical look.

"I thought you said you loved peace," he said.

It was indeed his last chance. It was the end of his *political* prestige throughout the world. Trotsky will live, I suppose, as one of the greatest revolutionists in history. Spartacus, the Gracchi, Danton, Robespierre—I don't know any that excelled him in will, intellectual force, or actual achievement. But the revolution had already failed. Lenin himself had failed, as his Testament and his deathbed fight against Bureaucratism bear witness. It wasn't Stalin, it was the crass facts of human nature that defeated them. It was the logic of reality refuting that ideal of perfection which had driven them to great deeds—the same that lured me into their following. Stalin, a natural born bureaucrat, not troubled by any ideal of perfection but guided, as Lenin warned, by a commonplace thirst for power, was only a supremely astute and ruthless representative of that logic.

My big mistake was that, although I was right there looking on at the very inside essence of this process, this living refutation of socialist theory, I would not allow myself to perceive it. I clung to my belief in the so-called Soviet System. For almost ten years I insisted on regarding Stalin and his totalitarian state as an accidental enemy, not a natural result of the October seizure of power.

Conviction vs. Pride

This, then, is my fourth and my biggest mistake: the unconscionably long time it took me to acknowledge that I had *made* a mistake. I wasn't a fanatic, but my brains were so stubborn, my emotions so fixed in a revolutionary mould, that I might as well have been. I couldn't change my mind. Every impulse to change my mind I rejected as a weakness in my character. It's hard when in doubt to distinguish these two things. When conviction falters, pride holds you fast.

Pride's action must be particularly strong when one is called before some ominous tribunal and asked to state his convictions. Under less pressure, a good number of those seemingly so obdurate Fifth Amendment Communists would, I suspect, admit that they'd like to back down. I feel like telling them:

Never mind the external circumstances; truth is all that matters; acknowledge your mistake and get it over with.

Having freely confessed my mistakes, I may now mention a certain advantage that accrues to me from having made them. It is the advantage of inside knowledge about something of paramount importance at this moment in history. With distinguished exceptions, it is only those of us who have been, if not inside the Communist movement, at least close enough in to feel and know by experience its passions and purposes and schemes for achieving them, who fully realize what the free world, and its captain the United States, are up against. We are, in a way that others are not, fortified against the vice of self-deception. And for the last fifteen years self-deception has been the essential foreign policy of the United States. Our Western statesmen simply can not get it through their heads that they are fighting an armed international religion with a fixed creed and a fixed purpose to destroy free institutions throughout the world. They can't imagine what it is like to belong to such an organization—to be, in the name of an ideal of perfection, a ruthless enemy of the existing civilization. And so they raise up one fatuous hope after another that, if they behave according to the dictates of reason or justice or the golden rule, these fanatics will yield ground and respond.

They won't, and as committed revolutionists they can't. We know this because we were once in a similar state of mind. To us it seemed absolutely ridiculous to send an airload of statesmen and their retinues over to Geneva, squandering hundreds of thousands of dollars, and enough brain power and oratorical energy to found an empire, in order to find out the perfectly obvious fact that the victorious gang in the Kremlin are not going to hand over their prize European conquest in the cause of a security they don't believe in. I refer, of course, to East Germany, and I am wrong to call it a conquest. It was a gift we gave them in this same fatuous mood of self-deception when we stopped the eastward march of our own conquering armies at the end of the war.

For us, who have been friends of the enemy, this self-deception is impossible. We know what we are up against: a war to the death against our Republic and our free way of life—a cold war, to be sure, but a war nonetheless. There are but three

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possible outcomes of this conflict:

1. The Communists win it and our nation is destroyed.

2. The Communists drive us back until we recoil with a hot war and the whole nexus of civilization is destroyed.

3. We prosecute the cold war with a will to victory and win it.

The third is the true course open to us—the only course short of a bombing war. We must frustrate and force back world Communism until its center of power in the Red Empire is overthrown by forces arising among its own subjects.

Nobody wants a hot war in the present state of technology. The Communists want it least of all, both because they would surely be destroyed, and because their fanatical aim is to take over the American industrial plant as a going concern, not as a heap of unapproachable ruins. But the Communists take advantage of this universal abhorrence of a hot war to wage the cold war with every means and instrument they can lay hold of or devise. We, on the contrary, cannot make up our mind to face continually and with resolution the fact that we are in a cold war. We can't seem to get it through our heads that the golden rule, although a noble and wise aphorism in its place, has no application to the task of calling the bluff and stopping the depredations of a bully. "Speak softly and carry a big stick," was the maxim applied by Theodore Roosevelt to such exigencies. "Carry a perfectly enormous stick, and announce in a loud voice every morning that no matter what happens you are not going to use it," has been the maxim of our government for the last ten years.

We are fighting this cold war for our life, and we must fight on all fronts and in every field of action. We must employ in a campaign to liberate the enslaved countries and deliver the world from the menace of Communist tyranny all the means employed by the Communists to destroy and enslave us—excepting only that we fight with the truth, adhering to moral principle, while they fight with lies and a deliberate code of treachery. And we must make our aim as clear to the world as the Communists have made theirs. We must never affirm our loyalty to Peace without linking to it the word Freedom.

The Resistance

(The information in this column, transmitted by a special correspondent, comes from first-hand sources.)

More on East German Atoms

In addition to the new Atomic Department at the Dresden Technical University (*cf.* NATIONAL REVIEW, January 11), three new atomic institutions have been established at Leipzig: a "Scientific Council," with Dr. Gustav Herz, a Stalin Prizewinner, just returned from a decade in the Soviet Union, as chairman, and another Stalin Prizewinner, Dr. Manfred von Ardenne (*cf. ibid*) as vice-chairman; an Atomic Research Control Office and a Central Institute of Nuclear Physics, both under the chairmanship of still a third Stalin Prizewinner, Dr. Barwich. All three of these institutions as well as the Dresden Atomic Department are open for the training of scientific personnel and, in addition, to carry on research.

The East German Government has sent a memorandum to all technical schools and universities in East Germany, advising that all graduates and advanced students in the faculties of Physics, Chemistry and Mathematics should be directed to apply to the Dresden Department or one of the Leipzig institutes. The memorandum, signed by Professor Herz, states that the atomic schools are fully equipped, and that the Soviet Government has guaranteed sufficient uranium, etc. for the most advanced research. Unfortunately, the memorandum continues, in spite of the fact that atomic research offers unlimited scope for a professional career, there have been no volunteers for this training. There are uranium, equipment, Stalin Prizewinning professors—everything except students.

An East German source explains the lack as follows: The students believe that signing up with one of these institutions is equivalent to joining the Soviet service. The professors are said to be not only Soviet citizens but also officers in the Soviet intelligence. Moreover, the students at the atomic institutions will be given scholarships, which cannot be refused, for work in Soviet universities; and a long training period in Russia as well as membership in the Soviet atomic organization will be a prerequisite to a successful atomic career.

But the East German atomic institutions must have students. . .

Recently a considerable number of Chinese students appeared at East German universities, where they study nothing but physics, mathematics and chemistry. At Jena, thirty entered the Physics Department; twenty-two, the Mathematics Department at Greiswald, etc. They are taken care of by the Communist Party.

The Party has just been instructed to select the most suitable of these Chinese students for transfer to Dresden and Leipzig.

Political Semantics

In Poland, newly invented words reveal current political attitudes. The untranslatable *Wdechowiec* means literally, "breath holder," one who breathes in and holds his breath so that he cannot inhale any germs floating in the atmosphere. The official magazine, *Nowa Kultura*, uses it to describe a type of oppositionist which it defines as follows: "He is a man of a long established conditioned reflex against any form of Communist propaganda. Unimpregnable, and proof against any ideals, he treats everything with sneering contempt and disillusion."

Among the words invented by the opposition is *dretwa mowa*, unknown to Polish dictionaries prior to 1947. The youth apply this term, which means "cramped speech," to all official speeches, editorials, ideological lectures—in short, to all Communist propaganda.

A still more expressive clue to the attitude of young people in Poland is found in a grieved confession by the Communist literary spokesman, Jan Starzewski:

"Our youth are primarily interested in cultural events free from any political propaganda. Purely aesthetic artistic and cultural enterprises are considered by young people to be most interesting because they consider them 'anti-regime.' "

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Shadow On Formosa

The author of this article was born and educated in China, speaks Chinese and Korean and has spent many years in the Far East. His recent book, *Still the Rice Grows Green,* deals with Formosa

JOHN C. CALDWELL

Singapore

Americans, always ready with a descriptive phrase, aptly call the Formosa Straits the "Dire Straits." There is every indication that 1956 will be the year of decision there, and a year in which the U.S. will be faced with alternatives that may determine the future of Eastern Asia.

To understand the significance of events in Formosa, it is necessary to recapitulate the developments of the past year.

In January 1955, the Chinese Communists attacked a small, lightly held island in the Tachen complex. Thereupon, Washington forced the Nationalists to evacuate the whole group—thirty islands which they had occupied in force at the request of the U.S. The islands were heavily garrisoned and could have been defended.

The Tachen evacuation had repercussions throughout Southeast Asia. Nationalist Chinese—and American—prestige plummeted. The evacuation is credited with having had a profound effect upon the 1955 elections in Singapore, and even on Red voting strength in Indonesia. It also increased distrust of American intentions, especially among Formosans.

Finally, the Tachen debacle has caused a tremendous increase in American military aid to Formosa. When I visited the island in December 1954, there were approximately 1000 Americans—enlisted men, officers and dependents — connected with the Military Advisory group. Now there are 7000 Americans, and more are streaming in each month. Parallel increases are apparent in every phase of American activity. The streets of Taipei are choked with American military jeeps and cars. A year ago the Taipei American School had an enrollment of 400; on January 1, 1956, the enrollment topped 900. In addition to the Military Assistance Advisory Group, the 13th U.S. Air Force has its headquarters on Formosa. A Taiwan Defense Command has also been established.

American equipment for the Chinese armies comes into Keelung in a steady stream; new barracks, new airfields are under construction throughout the island. A multi-million-dollar project known as the Veterans Retirement Program is releasing 79,000 over-age Nationalist soldiers, whose places are being taken by young native Taiwanese.

On the surface it might appear that the U.S. has awakened to the realities of Chinese Communist intentions and is prepared at last to give Nationalist China the support it has so long denied. But the appearance is deceptive. The U.S. is facing serious problems and decisions. American policy is still essentially negative. It offers no hope to Free China, not only for fulfillment of its dream of return to the mainland but even of support for the offshore islands. It is in relation to these islands—Quemoy and Matsu—that a decision must be made in the very near future.

Defense of Offshore Islands

I have just visited Quemoy for the third time in the past two years. And I believe that Nationalist China may be forcing the U.S.'s hand; may, in short, have Uncle Sam over the barrel. As of January 1, 1956, over one-third of the effective fighting strength of the Nationalist Army was concentrated on Quemoy, Little Quemoy and the Matsus. Quemoy is bristling with new guns, new defenses, new roads, a second airfield is almost completed. U.S. military advisors are present on the island and on Matsu as well. But the tremendous concentration of Chiang Kai-shek's best men has been accomplished over the protest of American advisors. In short, Chiang is putting us in a spot where we will have to help defend the offshore islands or take the chance of losing a large proportion of Free China's fighting forces. In effect he is saying, "All right, boys, you ditch us here and the whole area is going to be your baby."

The Chinese have not forgotten that they were urged to go into the Tachens in force, then made to evacuate. They have not forgotten that on one day the Eisenhower Administration promised to include Quemoy within the American defense line, and two days later reneged. They do not expect help in the normal course of things. They hope that help may come if its denial might cost 150,000 men.

Causeways Built

No one can accurately gauge Red Chinese intentions. But there can be no doubt of their activity all along the China coast facing Formosa. A concrete causeway has been built, linking Amoy with the mainland. (Amoy is four miles from Quemoy.) Another causeway, linking Ta-teng Island (six thousand meters off Quemoy's northern end) with the mainland is almost completed. The airfield at Foochow, 40 miles from Matsu, has been completely rebuilt. New airfields are either completed or under construction at three other points between the Matsus and Quemoy. One hundred miles north of the Matsu chain, the Reds have built two new harbors and are rushing a highway southward to Foochow.

In short, Red China is making ex-

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tensive preparations for something. There are Chinese and Americans who believe these preparations may be defensive; that the Reds are beginning to believe their own propaganda about the United States attacking China. Others profess to believe that an all-out attack against Formosa is coming during 1956.[1]

The truth is probably between these two extreme views. The Chinese themselves do not expect any immediate attack on Quemoy. As of the first of the year there were only 125,000 Red troops on the mainland facing the island. Of 700 artillery positions, most of them built within the past year, only twenty are in use. There are not now and have not been any extensive troop movements into the area.

However, Chinese officials privately show much concern about the Matsu chain. They fear the Reds will attack, but in such a manner that the U.S. will be lulled into inaction. In short, it is believed the Reds will use the same strategy they used in the Tachens: attack one small, poorly defended island in the belief that the U.S. will then peremptorily order Chiang to evacuate *all* the islands.

The Matsus lend themselves to this strategy. Unlike Quemoy, they are small and scattered. There are five major islands, the smallest of which is Kaoteng, four miles from the mainland and more than eight miles from the main Nationalist forces concentrated on the two large islands of the group.

Red Attack Imminent

There are mounting indications that the Reds will attack Kaoteng within a matter of weeks. Heavy artillery is being moved into position. The Foochow jet field, forty miles distant, is already in use. The new highway being built from the North will serve the area. The two new harbors, already completed and in use, will supply it.

If and when Kaoteng is attacked, the U.S. will be faced with these possible courses: It can sit by and keep hands off; it can attempt to force an evacuation of all the islands in order to avoid trouble; or it can give the Chinese Nationalists the assistance they are requesting.

As in the case of the Tachens a year ago, the Nationalists have maximum and minimum requests. At the most, they hope for assistance in keeping the supply line between Matsu and Formosa open. Our own military experts on Matsu believe the islands can be held if supplies can be kept moving. The degree of assistance needed will depend entirely upon the amount of Red airpower thrown into the attack. Certainly the use of U.S. destroyers and air patrols is indicated.

The minimum Nationalist request, as it was in the case of the Tachens, is that U.S. Naval vessels be stationed at predetermined places in the Formosa Straits so that downed Nationalist pilots can crash-land in the vicinity of the ships. Pilots—and jet pilots in particular—are precious. The Nationalists believe they can hold their own if they do not lose too many.

There is extreme bitterness among Chinese officials because this minimum request was denied a year ago. If it is denied again the U.S., with its tremendous commitment on Formosa, will be facing an angry and embittered people.

If all assistance is denied, it is doubtful whether the Matsus can be held. It is possible—and, as I have indicated, this is a calculated risk—that the Nationalists would even be unable to evacuate the 30,000 troops on the islands. In Red hands Matsu will be a prize of considerable value. The Min river will be uncorked, the port of Foochow opened, and the Reds relieved of the need to move troops and material hundreds of miles overland. That is to say, the way will be opened for the ultimate attack on Formosa; for Matsu must be taken before a successful operation can be staged against either Quemoy or Formosa. From the military as well as the political standpoint, therefore, an attack on the Matsus, beginning with Kaoteng Island, seems to be a certainty.

U. S. Prestige at Stake

What will be the effect of the loss of the offshore islands, either by conquest or negotiation? I can best sum it up in the words of one of our top diplomats in Taipei: "The loss of the islands may be an irreparable blow to Nationalist morale. It will mean the end of American prestige in all Eastern Asia. Especially it will mean the end of all hope that the overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia will remain anti-Communist."

Since visiting Formosa and Quemoy, I have travelled through Hong Kong, Vietnam and Malaya. In Hong Kong I attended a Christmas rally of 2,100 Chinese orphans supported by an interdenominational American organization called the Christian Childen's Fund. The orphans put on various acts before a crowd of 5,000 Chinese. One group of high school children performed a flag dance in which Nationalist Chinese flags were displayed from time to time.

On each appearance of the many-pointed star of Free China there was a tremendous response from the crowd—clapping, cheering, even tears. In Saigon I saw hundreds of small Nationalist flags plastered upon the walls of buildings. And even in Singapore on October 10, which is Free China's Fourth of July, Nationalist flags appeared at daybreak all through the colony, although there the display of any interest in Free China requires courage.

We cannot discount the influence of Formosa on the overseas Chinese. They show a pathetic interest in the island, its progress, its hopes. The Chinese may no longer be for Chiang Kai-shek. They may even pay lip service to the Chinese Reds. But, to millions of them, Formosa remains a symbol of hope, a reminder that there are Chinese who have not given up.

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[1] Since Mr. Caldwell's article was written, Mao Tse-tung has threatened to take Formosa, by force if necessary—THE EDITORS

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NATIONAL TRENDS

L. BRENT BOZELL

The most baffling development in the unfolding political campaign is the reluctance of Republicans to fight back on the internal security-civil liberties issue. Democrats have been permitted to take the offensive in this area despite the facts:

—the issue has paid handsome dividends to the Republicans in the past;

—one of the few more or less fulfilled GOP 1952 campaign promises is at stake;

—the electorate still appears to view sympathetically Republican tight-security views (though it may not do so forever);

—Democratic leaders are, if possible, *more* obdurate, and, if possible, *more* ostentatiously uneducated about and contemptuous of the Communist threat (and/or susceptible to Communist propaganda about the Communist threat) than in the "red herring" days. Yet the Administration has responded to the challenge by, in effect, entering a plea of *nolo contendere*.

Appeasement Abroad, Softness at Home

The GOP's most effective weapon in the 1952 campaign—except, possibly, its Presidential candidate—was the charge that Democrats had appeased Communism abroad and had been soft on Communism at home. Democrats have certainly done all they can to keep both of these issues alive for the 1956 campaign—and to remain as vulnerable, with respect to them, as ever. On their part, the Republicans evidently appreciate the potentialities of the appeasement issue: as this column pointed out a week ago, the GOP is now trying to keep Mr. Dulles' detractors in the trap into which they were lured by the Secretary's discourse on the "necessary art." But on the internal security matter, the Administration is strictly observing the President's instructions of two years ago to keep clear of inter-party controversy.

Censure and Attack

In retrospect, it seems that the McCarthy censure was the event that gave the Democrats courage to move away from the defensive, and over into the position that Republicans are *too hard* on the security issue. Last spring, after solemnly but perfunctorily (in the Daniels Resolution) recording its determination to continue to investigate Communism, the Democratic Senate leadership instructed a squadron of subcommittees to investigate the administration of the security program for evidence of overstrictness. A subcommittee that looked into the Humphrey Resolution for setting up a special security commission had the first crack, and called as its star witness one Joseph L. Rauh, Jr. Rauh obligingly set forth the criteria for a *good* security program (arguing, generally, that the less security the better the program); whereupon the subcommittee called a spate of lesser personages (discharged government employees) who obligingly proved, with tales of their own "persecution," that by Rauh's standards the Administration's program was very bad indeed.

In September, the Johnston Committee picked up the torch, in November handed it over to the Hennings Committee. These two committees continued to call discharged employees who, in strictly *ex parte* proceedings, were asked to relate their tales of woe.

Both these performances had the earnest cooperation of the Liberal press, which, like the committees, was careful not to point out that, due to executive secrecy orders, it was learning only one (the employee's) side of the story. Through it all, the Administration, incredibly, kept silent; and excepting Senator McCarthy, who made a number of speeches and statements on the subject, not a single Republican official called attention to the kind of games the Democrats were playing.

At year's end, Democrats took stock of their progress, and decided to make internal security a major campaign issue. Here are a couple of samples of current Democratic oratory, and comparatively tame ones, at that:

Mr. Stevenson, on February 4, in California, observed: "[Republicans] have played politics with the individual rights of Americans in the name of internal security. Yet there is nothing more sacred than a man's reputation and nothing more solemn than the government's duty to protect it" (leaving, be it noted, a clue to where Mr. Stevenson stands on the question whether government employment is a privilege or a right). The same day, also in California, Senator Kefauver asked: "What of the terrible toll of ruined lives exacted by this Administration in the name of security? What of the men and women whose ability to earn a bare living has been callously impaired by irresponsible and reckless disregard of the basic American principles of fair play?"

Predictions

If Republicans continue to turn the other cheek to this sort of chiding — and the odds are growing that they will — look for Democrats to get bolder still, to tack on to their general criticisms concrete proposals for revamping the security system along the lines suggested last fall by Senator Hennings.

Specifically, one can look for demands a) to exclude evidence in security cases furnished by FBI agents whose identity cannot be disclosed, b) to exclude circumstantial evidence of unreliability — e.g., membership in Communist fronts—c) to abolish the "reasonable doubt" standard under which the government resolves in its own favor doubts about an employee's reliability.

The actual proposals will be made, of course, in somewhat different form — in language, that is, which makes clear that the first proposal does away with "secret informers," the second with "the theory of guilt by association," and the third with "the alien doctrine that a man is guilty until proved innocent."

And even if these proposals do not get official sanction during the campaign, look for them at the top of the agenda of the next Democratic Administration.

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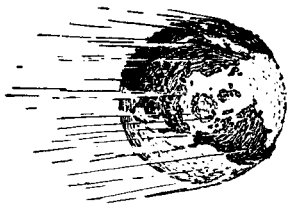

The THIRD WORLD WAR

JAMES BURNHAM

The Popular Front is the electoral or parliamentary variety of the United Front, which, in political essence, means any kind of coalition, institution or tendency wherein Communists collaborate with non-Communists. Thus a local committee on a civil liberties or school or race or peace issue — or a guerrilla army — is a united front if Communists are functioning in it alongside non-Communists.

Throughout the non-Communist world the Communists are currently using the United and Popular Front tactic. Where local conditions permit, this leads toward the formation of electoral and parliamentary blocs, and Popular Front governments. This process is well along in Greece, Italy, France, Brazil, Indonesia, Finland, Iceland, Burma, India, Japan and North Africa.

In some nations, the small size of the Communist Party, the absence of parliamentary institutions or the existence of a two-party system makes a standard Popular Front impossible. This does not invalidate the basic tactic, which is applied by analogy.

The United States is such a variant nation. Its Communist Party is small; the sentiment of all sectors of the population is anti-Communist; there is an established two-party system. the Communists cannot hope for an open alliance with either of the two parties, nor can they even expect (for the present) to join openly on any field with a major non-Communist organization. They are therefore compelled to advance the obligatory tactic along indirect and hidden routes.

The American Way

The McCarthy issue was used by the American Communists as their channel back into the stream of Popular Frontism. The Communists, in fact, invented the term, "McCarthyism," and devised most of the ideology that went with it. (In general, there was a simple transfer of the "anti-fascist" ideology of the thirties, with McCarthy dubbed in for the fascist symbol.) The Liberals, on a roaring civil liberties jag (*cf.* the evidence of the Paul Hughes case), lowered their guard and the Communists closed. Though most Liberals didn't realize it, "anti-McCarthyism" as a movement or tendency (as distinguished from individuals who on specific grounds were opposed to some of McCarthy's specific actions) was a united front, the broadest and most successful that the Communists have ever catalyzed in this country.

It is notable that in the latter part of the anti-McCarthy crusade, many conspicuous figures of early Popular Frontism, who had kept out of sight after 1948 or 1949, began crawling back to the surface: Edgar Snow, Frederick L. Schuman, Elmer Rice, William L. Shirer, Lillian Hellman, Corliss Lamont, Arthur Upham Pope, and so on.

In the labor movement, Popular Frontism means now, just as it did in the Popular Front period of the thirties, the liquidation of "red unions." By diplomacy, bribery, promises and threats, the Communists are squeezing their controlled dual unions back into the regular AFL-CIO setup. They have already merged the Food, Tobacco, Agricultural and Professional Workers, the Fur and Leather Workers, and some of the office and packing house unions. They are negotiating deals for the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, and several others.

On civil liberties and racial matters, Popular Frontism enjoins silence about peculiar Communist aims, the appeal to wide, vague objectives, and the constant attempt to work with or in non-Communist organizations. Thus, direct Communist operations on the Negro question are largely abandoned in favor of support and infiltration of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The chief Communist organization on civil liberties has been disbanded, and the Communists try to work with or through the American Civil Liberties Union. Similarly, they support and try to infiltrate Americans for Democratic Action, the League of Women Voters, and various academic organizations.

The perspective of the U.S. Communists points beyond these "molecular" operations. The main line of the American Popular Front rests on the "New Deal wing" of the Democratic Party, in the first instance in New York and California. At its July 1953 meeting, where the new Popular Front period was launched for the U.S., the National Committee of the Communist Party declared: "The perspective . . . is that of the unfolding of important struggles among the masses who form the base of the Democratic Party. The CP and other progressive forces must under no circumstances stand aside from this fight."

The first tryout for this directive came a month thereafter in the primary fight for the New York City mayorality election. To emphasize the turn, the Communists publicly condemned their own electoral machine (the American Labor Party) for its "sectarian" idea of having a candidate of its own, and called for the Popular Front maneuver of supporting Wagner against Impellitteri. This set the pattern that prevails and develops.

In 1954 the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union, located chiefly in the sparsely populated mountain states, threw its strength — in some cases decisive — to the Democratic congressional candidates. In California, and Oregon and Washington also, the Communists have multiplied their close links with the Democratic organization. Concentrating for the moment on the New York Democrats, they refuse to be discouraged by Harriman's anti-Soviet foreign policy statements or by the known anti-Communism of Carmine De Sapio.

This orientation has nothing to do with individuals — there may well be a greater number of firm anti-Communists among Democrats than among Republicans. According to Moscow's dialectical analysis, the left Democrat grouping in the U.S. is the analogue, in the dynamics of historical development, to the Mendès-iste-socialist grouping in France. With and through each lies the present stretch of the road to power.

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THE LAW OF THE LAND

C. DICKERMAN WILLIAMS

The Problem of Security

A month ago [Jan. 18] I demonstrated, at least to my own satisfaction, that federal employee removals without confrontation of witnesses did not violate constitutional rights as traditionally construed. I noted that the security program nevertheless presented serious legal and administrative problems, and these I now propose to examine.

The practice of removal on specific charges not supported by witnesses heard by the employee, but with opportunity to the employee to make a defense, goes back to the executive order of President McKinley of July 27, 1897, setting up that procedure.

At the time no one seems to have thought this procedure unfair to the employee. On July 29 the *New York Times* editorially characterized the order as "a notable stride" and "an important bulwark of the merit system"; it asserted that President McKinley had "done the country a service and himself honor." The *New York Tribune,* in a rather ecstatic editorial, referred to the "enthusiastic praise" the order had won from "Civil Service Reformers" and continued:

> The decision [on removal] is rightly left to the chief, and to him alone; but since he cannot dismiss a subordinate without stating his reasons and allowing a defense he is not likely to make unjustified removals.

Certainly the system worked to the satisfaction of the employees for at least fifteen years. Congress wrote it into statute law in August 1912, at the behest of Senator La Follette; he was then aggressively crusading on behalf of federal employees against alleged unkindnesses on the part of the Taft Administration. Indeed it was Senator La Follette who made explicit that "no examination of witnesses nor any trial or hearing shall be required except in the discretion of the officer making the removal."

Complaints against this procedure, if any, did not gain public attention until after President Truman's executive order of March 21, 1947, providing for a loyalty program, and the Security Risk Act of August 26, 1950. My views on the validity of these complaints are largely based on my experience as General Counsel of the Department of Commerce, 1951-1953. Although I was only occasionally consulted on loyalty-security matters, I got a number of distinct impressions. In addition, I have had some cases in private practice and last summer I opened a conference on the subject with remarks entitled "The Questions We Have to Answer." The answers, given by Liberals, labor representatives and government security officers, were often enlightening.

In considering loyalty-security I think the following somewhat disconnected matters are relevant.

1. Efficient administration requires that officials have confidence in their subordinates. The law has placed responsibility for the execution of government purposes on the President and agency heads, and if they are to discharge that responsibility they must have a certain freedom in the selection of subordinates, even if their exercise of that freedom is based somewhat on idiosyncrasies.

2. The evidence establishes beyond peradventure that the Soviet Union recruits secret agents through the Communist Party and Communist fronts, who are instructed to, and frequently do, transmit information to the Soviet apparatus and influence policy on behalf of the Soviet Union; that the Soviet Union has developed the Fifth Column technique to an extent unprecedented in the history of great powers.

3. Full scale trials on removal are extremely difficult administratively. Such trials do take place from time to time in the discretion of the officer with power to remove. They disrupt the work of the office and are time-consuming and expensive. To one such trial at the Department on the issue of competence a special trial lawyer from my staff devoted months of his time; preparation was lengthy; the trial itself took three weeks; the Civil Service Commission undertook a second trial of about the same length. The employee was eventually removed, but the affair was generally agonizing. The effect on the office concerned, with the employees being called on day after day to testify about a fellow-worker, can be imagined.

To avoid trials, Government personnel officers who want to remove an employee are said to resort to such devices as the abolition of his position, or his assignment to boring or humiliating duties. It is rumored that another practice is to search for a mistake in the employee's Form 57, a detailed autobiography required of all employees. It is almost impossible for an employee who lacks an extraordinary memory or who devotes less than a week to the task to fill out such a form wholly correctly.

The basic trouble with the full scale trial is that it represents the application of the judicial mechanism to what is fundamentally an administrative question, viz., will the employee be useful? For this reason such trials are not a conventional feature of employer-employee relations, except under some collective bargaining agreements involving mechanical workers and simple issues.

4. The loyalty program did not create an atmosphere of nervous terror; certainly not in the Department of Commerce, and I sensed no such atmosphere elsewhere. The overwhelming majority of Commerce employees were honest, hard-working, patriotic, non-intellectual, middle-class citizens who had never associated, or thought of associating, with the Communist Party or Communist fronts. The program was, I felt, highly popular, although it is perhaps dangerous for the General Counsel of a Department with 70,000 employees to attempt to express the sentiments of the rank and file. Frequently it would come out that the employee of doubtful loyalty was disliked by his associates. In one notorious security case the individual concerned was so actively disliked that the office of personnel planned, if his removal were reversed by the Loyalty Review Board, to proceed against him under standard civil service procedures on the ground that he was

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temperamentally unsuited for organizational work.

The absence of nervousness with respect to the loyalty program contrasted with the wave of nervousness that swept through the executive branch after President Eisenhower's election in November 1952. The federal employees in Washington had supported Eisenhower, as demonstrated by his large majorities in the Maryland and Virginia suburbs. Nevertheless the prospect of a new set of bosses really did cause a general sense of apprehension.

5. The security program includes misconduct properly penalized, but not necessarily related exclusively to security. Thus I favor the removal of homosexuals, but on the ground that such people should not be employed by the government, rather than on security grounds. Although I am familiar with the arguments on the relationship between homosexuality and security, they seem more or less applicable also to unconventional heterosexual love, and to sickness and other misfortunes. I would surmise that in the history of espionage and treason, far more secrets have been betrayed because of heterosexual affairs than because of homosexuality. The alcoholic and the homosexual should be discharged because they are unstable.

6. The removal of an employee as a "security risk" is an unusual and peculiarly difficult proceeding. Ordinarily employees are removed because of established misconduct or incapacity. Although it is quite true in the usual case that the employee is removed primarily because it is thought he will not be useful in the future, there is a definite finding as to the present situation. The determination of a security risk requires a prediction of the future based on an unknown present. That is to say, the security officer does not ordinarily know whether the employee who has associated with the Communist Party, individual Communists or Communist fronts, is now a bitter anti-Communist, a secret agent, or what. Indeed, some studies have indicated that anti-Communism is a likely outcome of Communist Party membership. As everyone is to some extent a security risk, the security officer must decide whether the employee's past demonstrates sufficiently more than normal human frailty to create a reasonable doubt as to his future loyalty.

There is good reason for thinking that many security officers have not been equal to this exceedingly challenging assignment. To illustrate: An active anti-Communist necessarily takes an interest in Communism. Yet because of such interest some anti-Communists have been subjected to security charges. Indeed, in late 1953, in a conversation with several anti-Communists, the idea was seriously advanced that a Communist had infiltrated the security organization and was engaged in weeding out the hard anti-Communists in the Government service. I do not agree at all with this theory, and attribute the situation to the naiveté of the security officers concerned, but the fact that it was entertained is indicative. In a particular case a young man of Eastern European extraction, an ardent anti-Communist influenced to some extent by Soviet oppression of the country of his ancestors, had worked against the Communists among Americans of similar origin. His work had required study of Communist techniques. Although he was eventually cleared, he was so discouraged that he withdrew from Government service.

In short, many security personnel need far greater sophistication in Communist and Communist front affairs than they appear to have. A thorough training of such personnel in the refinements of the party line, Communist and anti-Communist techniques and the like should be required.

That subtlety and expertise are required to appraise associations provides the best argument for trials. Security officers are not infallible; neighbors and associates are quite likely to confuse Communism with interest in anti-Communism, doctrinaire Socialism, world government, race relations, etc. If the neighbors and associates are not to be heard by the employee, their statements must be most expertly evaluated. Many opponents of the present security system will off the record base their opposition on blunders and delays in such evaluations, and concede that a regularly employed government agent cannot be revealed because he thereby becomes useless, and need not be revealed because his information is reliable.

7. In any event security charges should not be made until there has been intelligent advance screening and, when made, should be promptly and diligently disposed of.

8. President Truman's "red herring" remark about the Hiss case, and various highly publicized cases involving the Department of State created a sincerely and widely held impression that the administration of the loyalty-security program was lax throughout his term. Whatever validity this impression may have had with respect to the Department of State, and whatever confusion there may have been in the early days of the loyalty program, this impression was false in so far as the Department of Commerce was concerned, and also, in my opinion, with respect to other agencies. Under the guidance of Senator Bingham, ably assisted by that veteran civil service expert, L. V. Meloy, the central administration of the program was vigorous and intelligent in 1951-3. However, President Eisenhower's executive order of April 27, 1953, abolished this central guidance.

9. To continue to rely on associations in respect of security has its dangers. The Communist Party and Communist fronts no longer attract. Yet we can be sure that the Soviet Department of Espionage, Section for the United States, did not shut up shop when Communism became unpopular on college campuses. However Soviet espionage is going about it now, I do not know. Perhaps it still relies on dupes of earlier times. But we should be careful not to carry on our loyalty-security efforts today on the basis of experience in 1933 and succeeding years, when it is clear that the situation then existing no longer prevails.

10. Loyalty-security is grim business. Employees are removed for associations that were not improper at the time if the then pronouncements of the highest officers of the Government had been correct, and the removal takes place at a time when the employee may be disillusioned and resentful against the Communists. I confess I see no alternative, but I found even a remote and sporadic participation in the proceedings painful and unpleasant. The Cold War demands many sacrifices, of which perhaps the greatest is conscription. Loyalty-security must be regarded in this light.

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Nehru and Democracy

(The Society for the Defense of Freedom in Asia was an Indian organization founded in 1952 by a group of Indian patriots, some of them well known in Indian public life. Its work was primarily educational: to aid in the democratic development of the new Indian nation, and to combat totalitarianism, in particular Communism as the most virulent form of present totalitarianism. Its success was measured by the enemies it made, as well as by positive accomplishments of increasing influence. The Soviet and the Communist Chinese embassies brought pressure against it in New Delhi. Rumors were spread that the Society was an American espionage center. Members of the Nehru government bitterly opposed it. The net result was the dissolution of the Society for the Defense of Freedom in Asia on December 23, 1955. We here publish the final statement that the Society issued on that day. EDITORS)

We regret to announce the closure of the Society for Defense of Freedom in Asia with immediate effect.

The SDFA commenced its activities in March 1952, at a time when our newborn democracy was threatened with Communist subversion in what we thought to be an atmosphere of general ignorance about the objectives and methods of Communism. Our analysis of Communist strength was a radical departure from the current notions. As against the belief that Communism attracts the poor and downtrodden masses, we asserted that in Asia at least Communism is mainly an upper-class movement. As against the thesis that Communism breeds on poverty and social injustice, we proposed that ignorance is its mainstay. As against the opinion that Communism is an ideology, we propounded that it is largely an organization.

In brief, we held out a plea for separating the task of building a better and happier India from the task of meeting the Communist menace. In our vision, the creative energies of our people could flow forward fully only if they could be freed from Communist blackmail, subversion and sabotage at every step and in every walk of our national life. We organized our informational and educational activities with one clear end in view—the isolation and immobilization of the Communist Party of India.

Although our resources were meager in comparison to the task we undertook, we are satisfied to note that in less than four years we have been able to foster a strong and abiding consciousness of the evils of Communism in millions of our countrymen. The success we have achieved has not only confirmed our analysis of Communist strength, but also laid bare the main weaknesses of the Communist movement.

Nehru the "Unrivalled Boss"

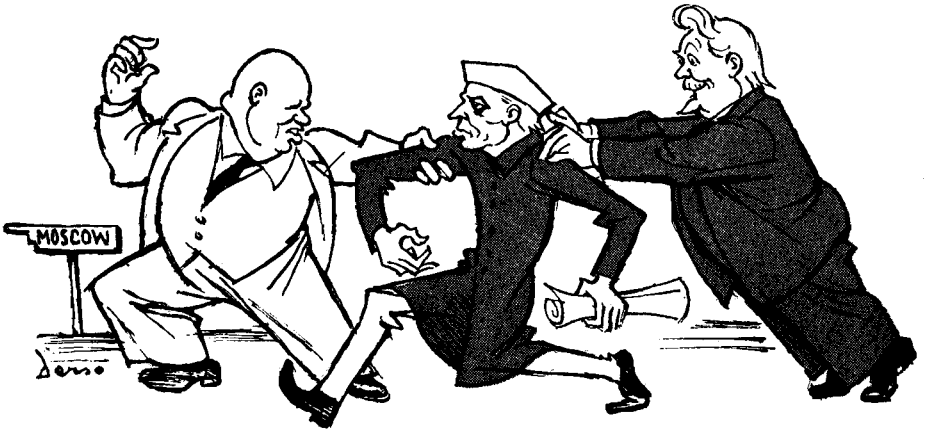
We can safely affirm that intellectually and morally the Communist movement has reached a dead end. It has today in its armory nothing except vile abuse, slander and character assassination which a mammoth and monolithic organization uses with a temporary, though great, advantage. The Andhra elections in which the Indian National Congress made an extensive and effective use not only of our research materials but also of our technique of mass education against Communism and for democracy, have given us hope that one day India will be completely rid of the Communist cancer.

We were determined to carry on our work till that glorious end. But we find that the internal situation in India has suddenly undergone a radical and unfortunate change due to policies initiated by Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru.

Since his emergence as the unrivalled boss of the Indian National Congress, he has destroyed, step by step but very effectively, all internal democracy in an organization which battled so gloriously for India's independence and which once stood so squarely for the best democratic and human ideals. The patriotic elements inside the Congress are being relegated to a secondary position while "progressives" are coming up. Mahatma Gandhi had created a galaxy of leaders including Pandit Nehru himself.

But Nehru has deflated all of them. Where are stalwarts like Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Sri Purushuttom Das Tandon, Sri K. M. Munshi, Dr. B. C. Roy, Sri Morarji Desai, Dr. Sympurnanand, Sri S. K. Patil, Sri D. P. Mishra, Sri Bishwa Nath Das, patriots and democrats of proven worth? Today, most of them occupy only governmental positions and all are equally shorn of political influence and prestige.

Now, in the name of National Reconstruction and National Consolidation, the Prime Minister is reaching out to smother all democratic opposition in the country. Policies evolved in the Prime Minister's bedchamber, without even a pretense of consultation with the leaders of public opinion inside and outside the Congress and the Government, are being proclaimed as national policies. The Press and all other media of information and public opinion are being increas-



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ingly controlled and encouraged to equate criticism of the Prime Minister's policies as treason and disloyalty against the nation. Totalitarian tendencies are becoming manifest in all spheres of our national life.

A still more unfortunate feature of this changed situation is the ideological merger of the Communist Party of India and the Indian National Congress on the basis of a pro-Soviet foreign policy. The Communist Party of India has taken shelter behind the power and prestige of the Prime Minister and is achieving increasing success in equating all criticism of Communism and the Soviet Empire with criticism of the Prime Minister and his policies. This situation is not only bound to give a fresh lease of life and increased strength to the Communist movement in India, but is also fraught with mischief against our young democracy. The combination between a totalitarian monolith like the Communist Party of India and the ruling Congress Party forebodes ill for all our hard-earned liberties and cherished values.

Totalitarianism at Home

We feel that in this changed situation a mainly anti-Communist and purely informational platform like the SDFA is likely to divert our people's attention from the new menace to our democracy. The nature of the fight for democracy has changed. It is no more a matter of informing our people against the designs of Communism.

What we need urgently is a strong and determined opposition to the fast emerging totalitarian tendencies in our own Government. For, we believe that Communism can be fought only by a vital and resilient democracy and that in a democracy opposition is as much, if not more, important as the Government.

The main task ahead is to stop the destruction of democracy in the country, and the restoration of democracy inside the Congress Party. The SDFA was neither intended nor is equipped for carrying out this task. This is a task which only political parties in opposition and democrats inside the Congress can perform. We have, therefore, decided to disband our platform in the interests of a struggle of larger proportions.

ON THE LEFT... C. B. R.

Judicial. The decision of Chief Judge Henry W. Edgerton and Judge David I. Bazelon of the U.S. Court of Appeals in the case of John T. Watkins, uncommunicative ex-Communist, threatens to cripple the activity of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. Their ruling holds that the investigatory power of Congress "cannot be used to inquire into private affairs unrelated to a valid legislative purpose." Edgerton's rulings have a special history. In the case of Dr. Edward K. Barsky before the U.S. Court of Appeals in 1948, he entered a minority opinion against the majority ruling that "Congress has power to make inquiry of an individual which may elicit the answer that the witness is a believer in communism or a member of the Communist Party." Today Edgerton is Chief Judge of the same court. Incidentally the attorneys for Watkins were Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., and Daniel H. Pollitt (who was once law clerk for Henry W. Edgerton).

Prestige. New Dealers within the State Department are organizing a triumphal tour for Walter Reuther throughout Nehru's India.

Ether Pollution. FCC examiner Herbert Sharfman has recommended granting Edward O. Lamb a renewal of his license to conduct station WICU-TV in Erie, Pennsylvania after 64 days of incredibly mismanaged hearings. In his 140-page decision, Sharfman shows a complete lack of comprehension of the issues involved. He cited Lamb as "starry-eyed" but not one whose "eyes must also have been shot with malevolent gleams." He refers to Lamb's pamphlet eulogizing the Soviet Union as "diffuse, pedestrian, in parts carelessly written." A character witness for Lamb was Presidential candidate Estes Kefauver.

But is Lamb as innocent as Mr. Sharfman would lead us to believe? Lamb is a shrewd lawyer unquestionably aware of the significance of the statements he signs and the organizations he joins. During the period of the Stalin-Hitler Pact, he signed statements in defense of the Communist Party and of leading Communists. He sponsored organizations primarily engaged in the defense of that subversive organization. Before that he had been a leading light of the International Labor Defense, cited by Attorney General Francis A. Biddle as "the legal arm of the Communist Party." The September 1939 issue of *Soviet Russia Today*, published immediately following the signing of the Stalin-Hitler Pact, carried a statement subscribed to by Lamb, defending the Soviet Union as "a consistent bulwark against war and aggression" and as a government guaranteeing universal suffrage and civil liberties. In the light of his provable record, the FCC should summarily reject the findings of examiner Sharfman and deny the license.

St. Louis Post-Dispatch. What is the Democratic majority in the Senate going to do about the excesses of the Internal Security Subcommittee under the chairmanship of Sen. Eastland of Mississippi?", asks the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* in an editorial widely circulated in Communist circles. This newspaper has also condemned the Smith Act, and the decision of the U.S. Supreme Court to uphold the Act, under which a number of Communist leaders have been convicted. John Raeburn Green, law partner of Senator Thomas Hennings, Jr., in a firm representing the *Post-Dispatch*, is currently representing also John Gates, Communist leader, convicted and released in his demand for a rehearing.

Faceless Informers. A former girl friend of Joseph "Specs" O'Keefe informed the FBI that he might be willing to spill the works on the $1,218,211 Brink robbery of six years ago. Up to the present her name is unknown. In other words she is faceless or nameless, as the Liberal saying goes. NATIONAL REVIEW expects to enlist Liberal civil liberties organizations in protest against this use of faceless informers.

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THE IVORY TOWER

WM. F. BUCKLEY, JR.

Where Angels Fear to Tread

Away back before 1954, Robert Oppenheimer was a famous man. For more than ten years he had been well known as a physicist and a philosopher of science, and he was highly esteemed throughout the world. It was not, however, until it was established by a security panel of the Atomic Energy Commission that Dr. Oppenheimer had a) contributed substantially to the Communist Party before, during, and after the Hitler-Stalin Pact, b) lied elaborately on several occasions to security officers during the period when he headed the development of our most closely guarded secret, and c) associated intimately with Communists during the same period—it was not until all this was revealed that the academic community and its publicists decided to lionize him in earnest.

Edward R. Murrow, for instance, had shown no inordinate interest in Dr. Oppenheimer for years and years, but the ink had barely dried on the Gray Report when Murrow's fascination with Oppenheimer became a central thing for him. Either he approached the Fund for the Republic or the Fund approached Murrow; in any case, an hour-long television interview with Oppenheimer was filmed, for distribution throughout the world. Whereas Oppenheimer had previously been honored as a pundit, now that he has been shriven by a ruling that his employment by the government jeopardizes the national security, he is become an oracle.

Which is, presumably, why Harvard University has only just now invited him to lecture—specifically, to deliver the William James Lectures in the spring of 1957. Harvard has of course been very much aware of Oppenheimer for years. In fact, he served (1949-1955) a regular term as an overseer of the Harvard Corporation. All during that period, and before, Harvard had lectureships available. None was offered to Oppenheimer. But by now, his prestige is so great that Harvard feels it just couldn't, for competitive reasons, afford to let Princeton have Oppenheimer *all* the time; so, it develops, Princeton will have to share him.

There were scattered protests against the appointment. The *Harvard Times Republican,* a maverick four-pager which resists the Liberal conformity, warned—hopelessly, it seems to me—that "If carried out, the appointment of [Oppenheimer] . . . will live to the great discredit of Harvard University." Mr. Edwin Ginn, a Boston banker who, as a member of the Harvard Council and class agent of the Class of 1918, has made great efforts and devoted much time over the years to raising money for Harvard, protested the appointment. "The good name of the University is being used to disadvantage," he said. For Mr. Ginn, the appointment was "just too much." He resigned his post.

The guns were all in position, ready to go. Mr. Perry G. E. Miller, professor of American literature and for years the sworn enemy of abusive and intemperate charges and countercharges, counted ten and told the Harvard Crimson, "Ginn is a fool." Mr. Edwin G. Boring, professor of psychology, took a clinical interest in Ginn's statement, only to decide that because it was "so emotionally overdetermined," "it is best to ignore it." Morton White, professor of philosophy and chairman of the department sponsoring Oppenheimer, said, "The appointment of Dr. Oppenheimer should [sic] be seriously evaluated only by those who can distinguish scholarly achievement. A university should be grateful to those who support it, but it should not be fazed by the attacks of one who . . . does not distinguish between academic freedom and military security . . ."

So Oppenheimer will go to Harvard. And he'll be a howling success. As I say, a far greater success than ever he would have been had he *not* been declared a security risk.

Harvard's exclusive concern with Oppenheimer's academic credentials would have alarmed William James himself. Much as he would have approved the pragmatism that underlies Oppenheimer's position, James—a man of unwavering rectitude—would surely have flinched at the linking of his own name with that of a man of such careless morals. Harvard is saying, in effect, that it makes no difference whatever what kind of a *man* Oppenheimer is—"let him establish himself as intellectually important, and he earns himself our homage." Professor White dismissed Ginn's attack on the grounds that he does not "distinguish between academic freedom and military security." We have seen that such was Mr. White's passion that he lost all control over his syntax; we see, too, that he himself neglected to make distinctions of the most elementary kind—which, for a professional philosopher, is like an acrobat's losing his equilibrium.

Academic freedom is *not* at issue. For surely Mr. White is not contending that Mr. Oppenheimer's freedom to research and write and teach is in any way abridged in Princeton; or that Mr. Oppenheimer cannot think fruitfully about philosophical matters except in Cambridge, under the aegis of the William James Lectureship. And Mr. Ginn is not saying that Harvard's sponsorship of Oppenheimer affects adversely the military security. He is saying that Mr. Oppenheimer's arrogant and unrepentant violation of the established code of civilized behavior makes him at this time more conspicuously a symbol of ethical nihilism than of scientific genius, and that in inviting him to Cambridge, Harvard has, in effect, made a public gesture of indifference to the place of moral worth in education.

Last week, Mr. Russell Kirk (in "From the Academy") observed that a college can "by ignoring the ethical end of learning, so separate intellectuality from the concept of moral worth that it graduates men and women whose light is darkness." Mr. Ginn quite rightly fears that the corporate indifference to personal probity exhibited by Harvard will make an impression on the student psyche neither justified nor countervailed by the exhilaration of seeing an intellectual wizard go through his paces.

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ARTS and MANNERS

WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM

"Timely" Flops

The other day, a rare and weird sensation drove me into taking a look at a timely play — an exposure, you may have noticed, into which I *have* to be driven. For timely plays are, in general, as attractive as sauerkraut juice: good for your health, if you want to trust faddist doctors, but an offense to your palate. Theater people, however, are constantly tempted to mess around with "topical urgency" — not so much because they are really concerned with the problems of our day, but because they are habitually terrified by the ancient apprehension that the theater may be dying. And the "timely play" (or so it seems to theater people who, bless them, are congenitally in a state of excited ignorance) may conveniently save the dying theater.

Now layman devotees of the theater (I, for example) don't believe for a second that the theater is mortal, that this *mélange* of fantasy, delightful fraud and devout exuberance can ever atrophy. Which is one of the reasons why intelligent laymen cringe when they hear of a "timely play": it is, by definition, an assault on fantasy, an anything but delightful fraud; and it has sold exuberance to puny "realism." Yes, my pet hatred among the sedatives which a modish criticism keeps peddling is "escapism" — the reproachful observation that the theater (or any other art) tends to escape "reality." This is, of course, exactly what the theater is here for. Like all the arts, it is reborn, ever anew, by man's undying desire to transcend his confines. Which (to come down a few notches) explains why "timely plays" are usually flops.

What drove me to see one (*Time Limit!*, at the Booth Theater) was the rare and weird applause the metropolitan Liberal press, practically *unisono*, had given an allegedly anti-Communist play. This was news. This was sensational. This I had to see.

Time Limit!, by Henry Denker and Ralph Berkey, produced by the Theater Guild, is not only a "timely" but also a "problem" play. (A Problem Play, according to the definitive theater dictionary which has not yet been written, is one by which a thoroughly confused author confuses his audience to the point of polite distress.) Its subject is treason; the problem, its "permissibility"; the developing play, not so good (though clearly better than any other new concoction I have seen this season on Broadway). And I am no longer surprised by the Liberal applause for an anti-Communist play. Messrs. Denker and Berkey may have been bothered and bewildered by many a problem, but, believe me, that of Communism was not among them. They have, on the contrary, written an impassioned plea against what goes for the Code of Honor of the U.S. Army. And Liberal reflexes being what they are, it would have been weird if their play had *not* evoked a pleased purr from the metropolitan press.

The Traitor as Hamlet

Major Harry Cargill, a Hamlet among U.S. majors, doesn't even try to defend himself against seemingly waterproof charges that he has gone over to the Communists while a P.O.W. in North Korea. But the investigating Colonel William F. Edwards does not buy this ugly story of unmitigated treason. He digs for the "truth behind." And, as the plot develops, Major Cargill emerges, not only as an honorable man, but also as the most attractive specimen of the U.S. Army cross-section which the play exhibits to the audience. Why, it turns out that the good major has seemingly broken down because, in truth, he has been all along the most mature human being! And, with the active support of the regenerate Judge Advocate, he is going to revamp the outdated code of conduct which the U.S. Army (represented by an idiotic general, of course) is still upholding against a kind of treason that is humanly plausible and morally unobjectionable.

This, if any, is the fighting thesis of *Time Limit!*—and, I hasten to add, it is by no means a Communist thesis. But (and this is the point) it is not an anti-Communist thesis either. It is simply, come to think of it, completely irrelevant to "the problem." The trouble with the play (and, at the same time, a measure of the considerable technical skill of playwrights and producers) is that nobody gets a moment's time to think at all. The thoughtful onlooker is silenced by the thoughtless melodramatic excitement.

But, on leaving the theater, you discover that you've been had. For one, Major Cargill (you suddenly realize) should never have been commissioned an officer. For, as it turns out, this epitome of maturity is still bothered by the sophomoric syllogism of the most immature kind of pacifism, namely: whether the objective of military action can ever justify bodily pain of the human creature. Cargill, we finally learn, confessed to having engaged in biological warfare against the peace-loving North Koreans only to save eighteen fine young Americans ("boys" as they are dependably called in such plays) from excruciating discomfort. But if this is morally commendable behavior, then it is surely just as commendable (and, to boot, much more intelligent) to oppose the war in the first place. Much more sensible than to relieve soldiers by treasonable personal acts from the tortures of captivity is to preserve their private peace by institutionalized surrender.

Apologia for Murder

Furthermore, the eloquent and crucial plea of Major Cargill at the climax of the play is, on second (or, rather, first) thought, pure rubbish. The man who breaks down one day (so goes Cargill's and the playwrights' argument) was a hero for one hundred and fifty days before, wasn't he? So why should the mistake of one day count more heavily than the heroism of the one hundred and fifty days? Which is like saying that a man who has murdered once hadn't murdered even once before; so why hold it against him?

Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes, said a considerably better writer (who, be it conceded in all honesty, wrote only on timeless subjects). Which, in free translation, means that an anti-Communist play so graciously welcomed by the Liberal press is a doubtful gift of the muses.

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

Simulacrum of Freud

FRANK S. MEYER

A recent little essay by Lionel Trilling (*Freud and the Crisis of Our Culture*, Beacon Press, $1.00) reflects with a rare clarity the pathos of the Liberal intellectual mind at its best and gentlest, its least smug and arrogant. Although the essay is based upon a lecture delivered as the Freud Anniversary Lecture of 1955, it is not for any light that Mr. Trilling throws on Freud that it is of interest. That tormented Promethean had for ill or good a stature far beyond the comfortable ken of Morningside Heights. He was one of those "terrible simplifiers" who, with sword or word, from time to time appear in history to end one epoch and begin another. A Napoleon of the intellect, he left nothing as he found it. Although his vision of man's being is of a Stygian blackness unrelieved by grace or spirit, he shattered with a single blow the prettification of man and the materialist vision of him as the potential creator of Utopia.

After Freud, it is still possible to deny the spiritual essence in man; what it is no longer possible to do is to screen with the smiling image of omnipotent and beneficent man the dark void that denial leaves. Not possible to do—I should say not possible for the searching mind, willing to bear reality, to do. And reality being a hard thing to bear, Freud's bleak prophetic vision has been transformed by his followers into a melioristic instrument called Freudianism; or it has been adapted by such epigonoi as Karen Horney and Erich Fromm out of all recognition, to hide the agony of man's alienation from God in the busy task of overcoming man's "alienation from society" by changing the material world.

It is this pallid likeness of Freud which Mr. Trilling celebrates. Someone has said that certain historians write history as though nothing ever really happened. It is characteristic of the milieu out of which Mr. Trilling writes that he speaks of men, including himself, as though they never really existed, as though they were only the constructs which "prove" or "disprove" the arid abstractions of the social scientists' "model." To such a mind, the passionate negations of Freud, that nether image of Augustine, become counters in a tidy parcheesi, as the drama of man's fate is reduced to a quiet little game played out where nothing is at stake, not even real pennies.

What, then, is Freud to Mr. Trilling? How does he translate and soften those searing prophecies into modestly balancing counters in his intellectual exercise?

To begin with, Freud's concrete and existential picture of man must be changed into an abstraction and a resultant of abstractions—the meeting point of "biology" and "culture." Biology, the sense of one's self "as a biological fact," is the happy contribution of Freud to rescue mid-twentieth-century man from the oppression of an over-demanding community. For Mr. Trilling, to do him credit, is disturbed by the merging, in the outlook of the "educated middle class," of the "sense of self" with the culture conceived as possessing

> . . . a new sort of selfhood bestowed upon the whole of society . . . having a certain organic unity, an autonomous character and personality [so that] men . . . think of their fates as being lived out not in relation to God, or to individual persons who are their neighbors, or to material circumstance, but to the ideas and assumptions and manners of a large social totality.

He is distressed by this outlook, although as far as one can tell, given his professional "we," he never dissociates himself from it, but accepts it as a sort of fate from which he can only be rescued by another abstraction. The affirmation of his existence as a person, through the direct love of man for God, or of man for man, never seems to occur to him as a way out; nor does that other darker affirmation of personality which the living Freud, like others before him, threw with defiant challenge at an empty and godless universe. The only escape he can conceive is by way of another abstraction, by subsuming himself under another generalization, the biological, to balance the societal, to ward off the danger of total absorption into the community, against which fate the flicker of selfhood left reacts with an instinctive, if most judiciously expressed, abhorrence.

It would never do to say, "This is wrong," or "This is right." Everything must be balanced to a point where no "objective" scientific reader could say that he has rudely asserted a value drawn from a realm beyond the purview of measuring instrument and electronic computator. Mr. Trilling can, indeed, be devastating in his criticism of the pressure for conformity and adjustment to the norms of the culture:

> We cannot really imagine non-conformity at all, not in art, not in moral or social theory, certainly not in the personal life—it is probably true that there never was a culture which required so entire an eradiction of personal differentiation, so bland a uniformity of manner.

But the "we" here is a genuine "we," the whole essay shows; it includes Mr. Trilling himself. He cannot tear himself loose; he depends too much upon the very concepts he castigates. There is no moral basis outside of him, in which he can find

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foundation for his existence. The situation which overwhelms him is, after all, derived from material categories he will not deny:

> Our culture is in process of revision, and of revision in a very good and right direction, in the direction of greater socialization, greater cooperativeness, greater reasonableness.

Despite all this, still the pressure is too great. He feels himself ground by "the unified and demanding culture." Here it is that the simulacrum of Freud he has created for himself presents him with a sanctified and acceptable, a certifiably scientific "countervailing" abstraction: ". . . we may think of Freud's emphasis on biology as being a liberating idea. It is a resistance to and a modification of the cultural omnipotence."

Materialist man, shrinking in desperation from himself as artifact of society, looks not upward but downward for salvation. Unable to bear himself as nothing but a social animal, he finds hope of freedom in the purely animal. Perhaps in a distorted and feeble way, this is the gospel of St. Freud after all. At any rate, it is a sad solution to "the crisis of our culture," a pathetic end to Mr. Trilling's journey.

Dry Well

The Case of Colonel Petrov, by Michael Bialoguski, M.D. 238 pp. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co. $3.75

Having picked up this book with the expectation that it would prove as interesting as Gouzenko's *Iron Curtain,* I was extremely disappointed. It gives no new or important information either concerning the Soviet Union or its espionage network abroad. It simply tells, in repetitive detail, the story of the Polish immigrant Dr. Bialoguski's relations with Colonel Petrov, and how, finally, he helped the chief of the MVD in Australia to defect to the West.

The publishers, to be sure, claim that the author, working as a secret agent of Australian Security in his spare time, "singlehanded successfully waged a battle for the mind and loyalty of a dedicated Soviet agent." The narrative clearly shows that he did no such thing—unless one counts the help he gave Petrov in getting acquainted with the fleshpots of the capitalist world. Bialoguski appears only in the role of a sympathetic listener, afraid to criticize the Soviet Union himself lest he lose his status as "a respected and trusted member of Communist circles in Sidney." And Petrov's defection appears from Bialoguski's account to have been due to his troubles with his superiors, and to his hatred and envy of the ruling clique in Moscow, rather than to ideological conversion or revulsion against Communist tyranny in principle. Gouzenko risked his own and his wife's life when he chose freedom. Petrov insisted that the Australian authorities not only promise him asylum but also give him eleven thousands pounds before he would defect.

In his introduction Dr. Bialoguski writes that Petrov must have divulged Moscow's "long range foreign policy," and that "the information he has given to the Western powers about the real intentions of the Soviet has stiffened their attitude toward the Soviet Union." He also thinks that Petrov's calculated decision to change sides was of greater importance than Gouzenko's brave escape, because Gouzenko was a mere cypher clerk in the Russian Embassy in Canada while Petrov, as chief of the MVD in Australia (and formerly in Sweden), was "in a unique position to describe the structure of the brain center of the MVD in Moscow, its ramifications and the pattern and method of recruitment and deployment of MVD agents outside Russia." Perhaps he was, but we shall have to wait for a book by Petrov himself, or by someone better informed than Dr. Bialoguski, before benefitting from it.

The Case of Colonel Petrov tells us nothing in these important areas—oddly enough, since if the author and Petrov were really as intimate as claimed, they must have touched now and then on matters less trivial than the topics of their conversations as reported in this book.

In one respect, however, the book is of considerable interest. It affords a disquieting picture of the casual and stingy treatment by the Australian Government of its counter-espionage agents, indicating that Down Under there was no greater realization of the Communist danger in 1954 than in Canada and the United States in 1945. However, lest I do an injustice to Australian Security, it must be noted that Dr. Bialoguski may well have been regarded as a lightweight whose reports had to be taken with several grains of salt, and whose own attitude toward Communism was somewhat dubious. He himself writes that at the time when he witnessed the arrival of the Red Army in Vilna he "thought Communism a clever idea and Soviet Communism an interesting experiment." Even now, he says that he is "not a man of strong political convictions" and confesses that he is "irritated" when he is "hailed as a fanatical opponent of Communism."

FREDA UTLEY

Happy Ending, Barely Credible

An Episode of Sparrows, by Rumer Godden. 247 pp. New York: Viking Press. $3.50

The central theme of *An Episode of Sparrows* (by the author of *Black Narcissus* and *The River*) is a conflict between the worldly and the unworldly. An artful blending-in of logic (a bit pixilated at times) and an unsentimental approach to an unequivocally sentimental situation make the conflict's happy ending barely credible.

The scene is laid in one of those neighborhoods in London where poverty nudges wealth. To the people living in Mortimer Square the children of Catford Street were like sparrows, with their "vast, lively cheeping" and intrepid cockiness. The sparrows' enemies were the Garden Committee and the caretaker of the Garden in the Square, who regarded them as trespassers if they so much as peered through the railings.

However, they did have two allies—an impractical, would-be Escoffier who dreamed of having a fine restaurant in Catford Street, and the spinster sister of the head of the Garden Committee, a vaporous woman, overendowed with a maternal instinct that had never had scope until she met up with Lovejoy Mason. Lovejoy was a

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homeless, ten-year-old girl in whom a dream also slumbered, one which leaped into those intoxicating regions bordering on realization when, quite by accident, she found a packet of cornflower seeds. At last she knew what she wanted. It was a garden.

"Who plants a garden plants happiness," says a Chinese proverb, but poor Lovejoy's chance of happiness was clouded by the fact that there wasn't a handful of tillable earth in Catford Street. She stole money from the "candle box" in the church to buy a digging fork and succeeded in making a tiny garden in a corner of the "bomb-ruins" (the headquarters of a teen-age gang of toughies headed by one Tip Malone). When the gang stamped it out Lovejoy turned to her friend, the thwarted Escoffier, for advice. "You'll get your garden," he assured her, "for wanting is the beginning of getting." The upshot was that Tip Malone himself was won over by the sheer tenacity of her purpose, and together in an abandoned graveyard behind the church they made another garden in earth carted at night from the garden in the Square.

The caretaker discovered what they were up to and the head of the Committee turned them over to the police. Due to the unorthodox machinations of the spinster, Lovejoy finally acquired a real home (complete with garden) and the would-be Escoffier also came into his own. The sparrows, in short, do fall to the ground, but Miss Godden does not allow them to remain there. That she works this miracle without succumbing to sentimentality and without dimming the glory of it by so much as one barb of irony is a tribute to her art.

ALIX DU POY

We have been asked why two prices for the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee's report, *The Communist Party of the United States of America* (reviewed by James Burnham, February 1). The two prices are: $.30 for the government publication when ordered directly from the Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., and $1.00 for a more durable edition published by The Bookmailer, Box 101, New York 36, New York.

Timely Warning

The Arabs, by Edward Atiyah. 242 pp. Printed in Great Britain; distributed in the United States by Penguin Books, Baltimore. $0.75

Until World War Two few Americans knew much, or thought that they needed to know much, about any part of the rest of the world except Western Europe. During these past fifteen years history has been a demanding pedagogue. No sooner do we locate the Ukraine in the family atlas than we are off to New Guinea; from the jungles of Burma our minds must stagger on to Okinawa, Sinkiang, Seoul and back to Tunisia (or is it Libya?). Are Kenya and the Mau Maus on Africa's east or west coast? Which side got Saigon? Are all Arabs Moslems or all Moslems Arabs? If Outer Mongolia wants to get in the United Nations, what happened to Inner Mongolia? Or *is* there an Inner Mongolia?

Publishers try to satisfy the aroused demand for information by drawing on the slender stock of genuine scholars and serious writers, or the larger floating supply of brash journalists and popularizers. By commendable enterprise, Penguin Books, for the area that is today most acutely relevant, has come up with a man who is learned without being dull, clear but never vulgar. Mr. Edward Atiyah is a Christian Arab, born in Lebanon, long a teacher and administrator in the Sudan, now resident in England. *The Arabs* is the most adequate introduction to its difficult subject that I know of, and very readable.

Mr. Atiyah compresses a vast amount of history but for some reason does not seem hurried. The first half of his book reviews the early expansion (geographical and spiritual) of Arab civilization under the impulsion of Islam; its consolidation; its lethargy and decay; and the renascence that began in the nineteenth century. The second half maps an illuminated road, region by region, through the conflicts of the past generation up to the situation as it stood in 1954, with a final intelligent chapter, "Into the Future."

Mr. Atiyah writes from a point of view that, though not fanatical, is frankly pro-Arab and, in a world political sense, pro-Western. Although he does not omit Arab deficiencies of both the past and the present, he is probably a little too easy on some of their social habits (politics by assassination, for example) and too optimistic about their potential reliability as allies of the West.

On the Israeli question he is calm but final: "What do the Arabs hope to achieve by this policy of boycotting Israel? To this question there are two answers. . . The first is that the Arabs' attitude toward Israel is now one of implacable hate. . . The second is a profound hope that in the course of time their refusal to have anything to do with Israel will cause the isolated state to wilt and perish. . . Those who believe that this attitude of the Arabs can be altered, that real peace and cooperation can be brought about between Israel and the Arab countries are, on the evidence available at present and as far as it is possible to prognosticate, indulging in wishful fancies." J. B.

MacArthur

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Sorrier Still

Las Vegas, Playtown U. S. A., by Katharine Best and Katharine Hillyer. Foreword by Lucius Beebe. 178 pp. New York: David McKay Company. **$2.95**

This little book of light-hearted gossip and anecdote about America's Monte Carlo includes several episodes that call for serious reflection. One of these suggests an explanation of something that may have puzzled you.

A few years ago you had only to mention at any cocktail party the name of Nevada to hear the gnashing teeth of the Liberals present. Nevada reminded them that there was one state left that levied no income tax, no inheritance tax, no gift tax, no corporation tax, and no sales tax, and, on top of that, was egregiously solvent. When, however, the state legislature, as our authors put it, was "maneuvered by a powerful school bloc into promising vast sums of money to finance education," Nevada at last got its sales tax. And the Liberals can now assuage their distress over other people's happiness with the hope that eventually the other chains of financial servitude will be riveted around the necks of the individualists who live on America's last frontier.

You will, of course, have taken it for granted that the educational gang in Nevada used the usual tactics to befuddle the legislature and claw its way into the taxpayer's pocket, but you may have missed a detail of some significance. The thing that finally threw the legislators into a panic and made them submit to the educational lobbyists, say our authors, was the appearance at the precise psychological moment of an article in *Collier's* entitled "The Sorry State of Nevada." The author of that screed, Albert Deutsch, "found throughout the state slums and misery and a lack of social consciousness of appalling proportions." As for the people of Nevada, "many who read [the article] laughed uproariously, many roared with rage—all were mystified"—and then they began to pay a sales tax.

Now all this, of course, may have been pure coincidence, but can we be *sure* that it was? The authors evidently have their suspicions, but hazard no pronouncement. For my part, I am coming more and more to respect the ingenuity of minds that are illumined by social consciousness and a noble urge to pick their neighbors' pockets.

REVILO OLIVER

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Who's Crazy?

I Passed for White, by Reba Lee, as told to Mary Hastings Bradley. 274 pp. New York: Longmans, Green & Company, Inc. $3.95

Occupation: Thief, by Donald MacKenzie. 260 pp. New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc. $3.50

I hope no one who glances at the titles of these books will think it is impertinent, or frivolous, to consider them together. Reba Lee was the illegitimate daughter of a white man and a woman with half Negro blood. Donald MacKenzie was a professional burglar and confidence man. Obviously, though both have had experiences as Outsiders, Miss Lee's was unchosen. She wanted nothing so much as to belong. Whereas MacKenzie not only deliberately played wolf to the herd, but at the end of his book was free to reform and become an Insider.

Still, what makes their respective stories more than just engrossing reading, is the image in each of a lonely, hunted, resourceful, unself-pitying "I," using all its wits to keep the pack at bay.

Because her skin and features were Caucasian, Reba Lee left her Negro family when she was seventeen, assumed another name, and married a white man. But she only became a trespasser. Her new life was a constant deception, and when she became pregnant, she lived in terror of having a black child. Only when it was finally born, white but dead, did she give up her role and return to her parents.

Donald MacKenzie's career was probably not quite so debonair and Raffles-ish as he shrewdly represents it. After all, he has turned professional writer since emerging from Sing Sing, and he wants to please his readers. But he speaks with a clean, unsycophantic candor which makes his book refreshing even when it is not too savory. At the end, having "paid his debt to society," he says, "Now I'm back in a world where fear is a strong deterrent. . . . Repentance for the sinner is a conventional emotion. But I'm sick of apologizing. . . . I'm scared—let it go at that."

I want to be scrupulous in recommending these books. It is probable that no one will care for them who does not, like myself, spontaneously identify with just any Outsider. On the other hand, I think that more people are Outsiders today than may realize it. For instance, a very rich man is an Outsider. So is a very poor man. So is my friend Holly Cantine, a civilly dissenting anarchist. So are Jews, poets, Negroes, homosexuals, book reviewers for NATIONAL REVIEW, and probably anyone who regards prefabricated houses, frozen orange juice, Mr. Ed Murrow and caloric dieting with apathy.

All of these people, if they look, will find themselves in some degree not only cold-shouldered, but actively disliked by the most numerically vast, morally proprietary, and legally powerful Norm human society has ever known. The last sentence in Donald MacKenzie's book applies to more than cynically rueful crooks:

"If you happen to be born in what's called the era of the common man, and if you happen not to consider yourself such, you're worse than impertinent, you're crazy."

Perverse? Paranoid? *Untrue?*

ROGER BECKET

Last Week's Puzzle

Here is the solution to "Cars and Crafts":

Young Farmer is the dyer.

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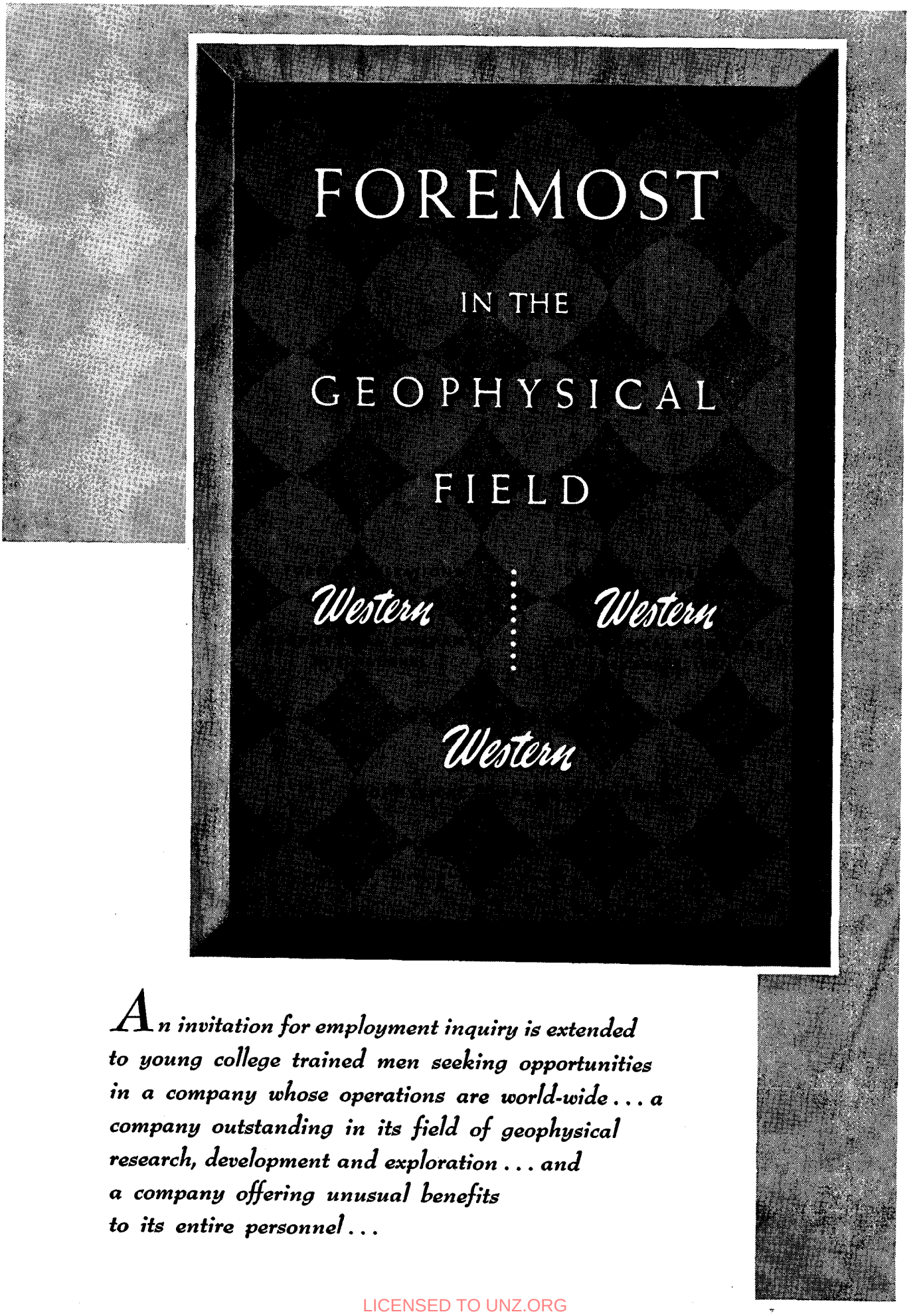

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To the Editor

Don't Change Tone

What a relief after the long reign of the left-Liberals. . .! So many of those guys never seem to think things through, and their sense of values is a feather against the lead of their vanity. . . .

I may be dumb but I think an intellectual should be able to recognize truth and facts, should be able to understand and interpret them and apply their meaning to particular problems honestly, fearlessly, without justification and without propaganda. . . . Is an intellectual a man of great knowledge? Not necessarily. He rates, however, if he couples knowledge with understanding. Leave me on the ground, but show me you *understand.*

Don't listen to the suggestions to soften up or change the tone of the REVIEW. It is good reading. It has finger prints and birth marks which are original and real. Keep it that way and more power to you!

Portland, Me. P. P. BISHOP

Voice for Conservatives

. . . the expert evaluation of the Leftist program is more than worth the subscription. Along with my prayerful wish that you will be blessed with the means and wisdom to carry on, please accept my heartfelt thanks for the leadership you offer the overwhelming number of inarticulate and unorganized conservative voters. . . .

New York City EDWARD V. O'BRIEN

From a College Student

As a . . . college student about to venture forth into the world the necessity of standing strong for truth, duty, courage has been impressed upon me. Where to find guidance in truth, duty and courage has until recently been quite a problem. NATIONAL REVIEW is certainly part of the answer—here I found expressed clearly what I had felt to be right but . . . saw contradicted in every other periodical. . . .

Newton, Mass. MIMI LABOURCHETTE

Appreciates Dr. Kirk's Column

Each feature is fine (the word fine is a very *nice* word); to mention one with praise might subordinate the others. As my particular *bête noir* is "Progressive Education," arrogant, smug academicians, "hired pedants professing the title of philosopher," I am very happy that Russell Kirk has a medium for his sane expression.

New York City MARIE KNOWLES

Resentful Taxpayers

There is a strong wave of conservatism building up in this country; also a powerful—but as yet latent—resentment on the part of the gullible American taxpayers over the way they are being swindled out of their money.

Chillicothe, Ohio LEONARD J. GANS

Copies to Friends

Every article is superb, and the book reviews are beautifully done. The article on the *New York Times* [January 25] was, to say the least, illuminating. I have never seen it put so clearly before. . . .I have been giving my copies to friends as I have finished them—and my telephone has rung several times this week to inquire if I have completed the present issue. . .!

River Edge, N.J. GRACE M. HOPPE

Wants More Reviews

. . .If at all possible, increase the scope of your book review section. . . . I am driven to consult many of the "smallerintellectualmagazines" (that's one word these days), merely to find out what books of unusual or noteworthy interest have come out recently. There simply isn't a decent place to go any more (I refuse to discuss the *Times,* or *Herald Tribune* or *Saturday Review*—no case to present at all)!

FREDERICK THAENS, JR.

Richmond Hill, N.Y.

Suggests Article on Income Tax

I have just read the first five issues of NATIONAL REVIEW and wish to congratulate you on their excellence. There is a real need and demand for an intellectual conservative weekly of this type.

I find one fault, however: I believe that most of the Big Government ills that you constantly attack can be eliminated . . . only by abolishing the income tax. Yet NATIONAL REVIEW has not had one article yet on repealing the Sixteenth Amendment. . . .

Tuckahoe, N.Y. R. CARLSON

Anti-Communist Underground

In the January 11 issue of NATIONAL REVIEW you refer to NTS as "the international anti-Communist underground organization," and to Mr. Boldyreff as one "who recently returned from a six months' secret mission in twelve European and Asiatic countries." Who told you that?

I presume Mr. Boldyreff himself has revealed those great secrets. I wonder if the following relevant facts would be of some interest to you:

1. The NTS is as "underground" as NATIONAL REVIEW, no more. They have played their "secret mission" hoax on a gullible public for years. . .

2. Recently, their main bet has been to get the same hoax published in the American press, and sometimes they are successful, as [your] January 11 issue . . . shows.

3. There is not the slightest evidence that they ever had any secret agents or missions in the Soviet-bloc territories. . . .

The above does not refute Boldyreff's statements about the damage done by the Geneva Conference. . . .

I highly appreciate NATIONAL REVIEW, and believe you can have the benefit of information from Russian émigrés without being a party to the NTS schemes.

New York City EUGENE A. CARPOVITCH

(Mr. Boldyreff, resident in this country for a number of years, is the best known spokesman here for the émigré organization of the Russian NTS, or "Solidarist," movement. It is true that in articles and lectures, Mr. Boldyreff has been an overenthusiastic publicist, and has exaggerated the underground operations of the NTS. However, independently of Mr. Boldyreff, NATIONAL REVIEW has evidence not only that the NTS exists as an active exile group, but that it has been able to carry out certain underground and resistance activities. In recent years these have been largely confined to satellite areas, but have had at least indirect effects within the Soviet Union proper. We abstain here from any comment on the highly controversial NTS political position. EDS.)

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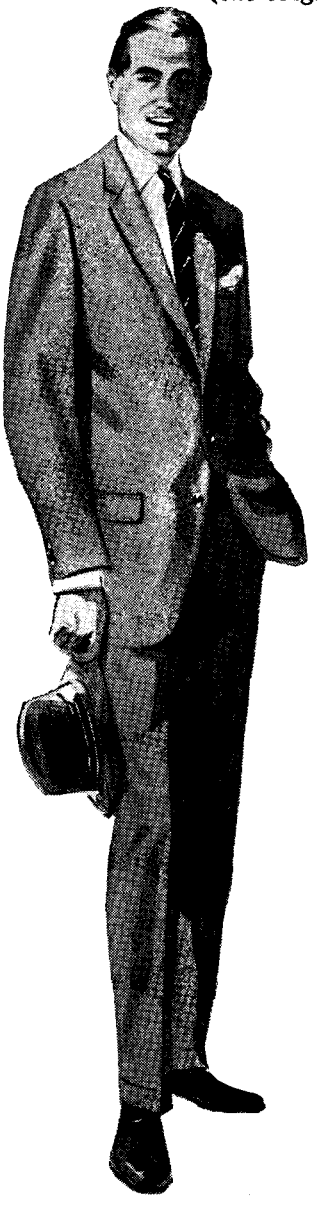

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